KALYAN KUMAR
DAS GUPTA

A TRIBAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA

A NUMISMATIC APPROACH

11

BASED ON an analytical study of the coins of the non-monarchical tribes like the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas and Yaudheyas, the present dissertation throws welcome light on the 'dark period' (c. 2nd century B.C.—4th century A.D.) of early Indian history. In his attempt to reconstruct the history of these tribes the author has exhaustively utilised every available source. Indeed, his work goes far beyond the dry numismatic research, laying accent on *history*, rather than on *coins* merely.

The author has offered original suggestions on many an issue, such as the significance of the figure of Viśvāmitra on the coins of the Audumbaras, the curious legends on the coins of the Mālavas and the hitherto unexplained legend on a solitary piece of the Vṛishṇis, and has discussed for the first time art in tribal coinage. He has also examined the suitability of the term 'tribe' applied to the communities represented by the coins and in the 'Introduction' has advanced for the first time cogent arguments in favour of its adoption in his work. Like a true historian he candidly observes in the 'Concluding Remarks' that a survey of the events of the period concerned shows a predominant feature of Indian history : the operation of a corporate spirit guided by an essentially local outlook. In short, the book is the first comprehensive, systematic and definitive work on the subject bringing out the importance of the role played by the non-monarchical tribal peoples in the history and civilization of India in one of her obscure periods.

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A TRIBAL HISTORY
OF ANCIENT INDIA

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A Numismatic Approach

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IN MEMORY OF
MY FATHER
HARENDRAMOHAN DASGUPTA

Serious historians study coins and weapons,
Not those reiterations of one self-importance
By whom they date them,
Knowing that clerks could soon compose a model
As manly as any of whom schoolmasters tell
Their yawning pupils.

W. H. AUDEN

PREFACE

THE PRESENT work substantially embodies the thesis *Tribal Coins of Ancient India* which earned me the degree of the D. Phil. (now Ph. D.) of the University of Calcutta in 1965. Later discoveries as well as after-thoughts rendered a number of additions and alterations necessary, so that it had to be rewritten at places. In view of the fact that this primarily numismatic work has gone far beyond dry numismatic research, the original title has been changed to *A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach.* In other words, the accent is on *history* rather than on *coins* merely as one of its sources.

As the following pages will show, a comprehensive account of the coinage of each tribe classified on typological and other grounds has been given and in the presentation of this material the plan of arrangement of coinages adopted in other publications on the subject has not always been followed. In fact, I have differed on several occasions from my *pūrvasūris* and tried to substantiate my contentions with the help of materials derived from hitherto untapped sources. The interpretation and correlation of facts as presented in the book may, in some cases, claim to be original. Special attention in this connection may be drawn to my explanation of the significance of the figure of Viśvāmitra on two silver coins of the Audumbaras and the interpretations of the curious legends on a class of the Mālava coins and the biscriptual one on a solitary specie of the Vṛishṇis. In certain respects again my attempts may claim to be pioneering. Thus for the first time art in tribal coinage has been exhaustively studied and grounds have been offered for the adoption of the term 'tribal' applied to the concerned monetary issues after a full-length discussion of its connotation. It may also be mentioned that some of the coins (e. g. Plate II, *CN 33*; Pl. III, 49, 50) have been reproduced in the present work for the first time.

Without dilating any more on the nature and scope of my dissertation for which readers are requested to go through the 'Introduction', I would like to offer my grateful thanks to the following institutions and individuals for their generous help.

To the authorities of the Indian Museum, Jaipur Museum and British Museum I am indebted for the supply of photographs of relevant coins of their collections as well as for allowing me to reproduce them. In this connection I must thank Sri A. K. Bhattacharya, the Director of the Indian Museum and his colleagues

Sri S. P. Basu, Srimati Dolly Mukherjee and Sri Shyamal Chakravorty; Dr. R. C. Agrawal, the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan and his colleague Sri B. M. S. Parmar; and Dr. G. K. Jenkins, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum and his colleague Mr. R. G. A. Gardner. My thanks are also due to Mr. H. Kaslovee of the American Numismatic Society for supplying me photographs of Rājanya and Kāḍa coins of the collection of the said Society. The late Narendra Singh Singhi supplied me with the plasticine cast of the rare 'Madavi' coin of his collection, to whose memory I take this opportunity to pay my homage. Mr. J. Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands, kindly sent me of his own accord photographs of some interesting varieties of the Audumbara and Śibi coins of his collection, which owing to their late receipt could not be included in proper places, but have been reproduced in Plate IX (with 'notes' in the 'Description' portion); I offer my hearty thanks to him. Photographs of some of the Agra coins and most of the Kulūta issues have been reproduced through the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India and Cambridge University Press respectively; I thank both these institutions.

Words are indeed inadequate to express my gratitude to my teachers, friends and colleagues from whom I had received and have still been receiving guidance, help and encouragement in matters, academic and personal. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my teacher, Professor B. C. Sen, who apart from supervising the progress of my doctoral dissertation, has helped me unstintingly with his advice and criticism in preparing and completing the present work. I am beholden to Professor A. L. Basham for evincing keen interest in this as well as in my other academic undertakings. I must specially thank (in alphabetical order) Dr. Bireswar Banerjee, Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, Professor B. P. Mazumdar, Dr. S. N. Ghosal and Professor S. R. Das for valued help and encouragement. I gratefully appreciate the scholarly gesture of Dr. U. P. Shah of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, who was kind enough to draw my attention to a Gujrati monograph *Audumbara Parichaya* and lend his personal copy of the same for my perusal. Srimati Maya Shah, one of my pupils, translated relevant portions of this monograph into English for me for which I offer my sincere thanks to her. Grateful thanks are due to Sri Satyajit Ray for giving his time and talent in designing the jacket of the book. I wish to express my hearty thanks to Sarvasri Arun Gupta for drawing the coin-motifs and symbols as well as helping me in the arrangement of the Plates; Asoke Sinha for preparing photographs of some of the coins illustrated in the book; Bijan Behari De and his pupil Srimati Gopa Dhar for assisting me in the preparation of the Index; D. B. Subba for his competent correction of the proofs and general lay-out of the book; Sibdas Chaudhuri, D. P. Gupta, Ramesh Chatterjee and Brajesh Chatterjee of the library of the Asiatic Society for their courtesy and help; and to the staffs of the Parrot Press, the Standard Photo-engraving and the Reproduction Syndicate for their care and attention in executing the jobs they were entrusted with. Sincere thanks are due to Sri Ranjit Saha for including my work in his publication programme. Finally, I must mention that without my mother's fostering care and affection I could not have completed the present work.

21 May, 1973

Postscript. At the final stage of the printing of the book I came across M. K. Saran's *Tribal Coins : A Study* (Delhi, November, 1972) which deals with the coins of only four tribes—the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Mālavas and Yaudheyas. My theory relating to the connection of the Audumbaras with Viśvāmitra (1961) and my explanation of the apparently 'meaningless legends' occurring on a series of the Mālava coins (1965) appear in Saran's book without any acknowledgment. Professor D. C. Sircar has also incorporated my views in his works *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition* (Delhi, 1967) and *Studies in Indian Coins* (Delhi, 1968) without any reference to my name (*infra*, pp. 44, fn. 40a; 131, fn. 92).

University of Calcutta
2 June, 1973

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

ABBREVIATION

ABORI	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
AIHT	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by F. E. Pargiter, Oxford, 1922.
AIN	Ancient Indian Numismatics by S. K. Chakrabortty, Mymensingh, 1931.
AIU	Age of the Imperial Unity edited by R. C. Majumdar, third impression, Bombay, 1960.
AMVT	Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition by D.C. Sircar, Delhi, 1967.
APP	Ancient Peoples of the Punjab by J. Przyluski, English rendering, Calcutta, 1962.
ASR	Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, New Series (edited by Marshall), quoted by year.
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India, Reports.
BAIHA	Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Saugar.
BI	Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
BS	Bṛihat Saṁhitā.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
CAGI	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. N. Majumdar-Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.
CAI	Coins of Ancient India by Alexander Cunningham, London, 1891.
CAIR	Classical Accounts of India compiled and edited by R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1960.
CASR	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, quoted by volume.
CCBM	Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India, by John Allan, London, 1936.
CCBM, AWK	Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Andhra, Western Kshatrapas &c., by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
CCIM	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
CCPM	Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, I, by R. B. Whitehead, Lahore, 1914.

CEICAM	Catalogue of Early Indian Coins in the Asutosh Museum (Calcutta) by Chittaranjan Roychoudhuri, Calcutta, 1962.
CHI	Cambridge History of India, I, edited by E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922.
CHIS	Comprehensive History of India, II, edited by K. A. N. Sastri, 1957.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III.
CL	Carmichael Lectures by D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta, 1918 and 1921.
DHI	Development of Hindu Iconography by J. N. Banerjea, Calcutta, 1956.
DKS	Development of Kharoṣṭhī Script by C. C. Dasgupta, Calcutta, 1958.
EBSGP	Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara by John Brough, Cambridge, 1953.
EHNI	Early History of North India by Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
ER	Excavation at Rairh by K. N. Puri, Jaipur, not dated.
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh, 1908-26.
ESAI	Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India by S. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1955.
GBI	Greeks in Bactria and India by W. W. Tarn, second edition, Cambridge, 1951.
GDAMI	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India by N. L. Dey, second edition, London, 1926.
GESM	Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata by Moti Chandra, Lucknow, 1945.
HGAI	Historical Geography of Ancient India by B. C. Law, Paris, 1954.
HIIA	History of Indian and Indonesian Art by A. K. Coomaraswamy, London, 1927.
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
HP	Hindu Polity by K. P. Jayaswal, third impression, Bangalore, 1955.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IC	Indian Culture, Calcutta.
IG	Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford, 1907-09.
IGN	Indo-Greeks by A. K. Narain, Oxford, 1957.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
INC	Indian Numismatic Chronicle, Patna.

IPA	India as known to Pāṇini by V. S. Agrawal, second edition, Varanasi, 1963.
IPP	India in the time of Patañjali by B. N. Puri, Bombay, undated.
IVKS	India of the Vedic Kalpasūtras by R. Gopal, Delhi, 1958.
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris.
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society (Fourth Series, 1959),. Calcutta.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JASP	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay (now from Varanasi).
JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JUPHS	Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MASS	Massachusetts, U. S. A.
MBH	Mahābhārata.
MP	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
MSIAC	Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization by H. Zimmer, third printing, New York, 1953.
NS	Numismatic Supplement (to the Journal of the Asiatic Society or Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta).
NSP	Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.
OH	Our Heritage, Calcutta.
PASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
PE	Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, London, 1858.
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Raychaudhuri, fifth edition, Calcutta, 1950.
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
PSMAP	Political and Social Movement in Ancient Punjab by Buddha Prakash, Delhi, 1964.
RIC	Rapson's Indian Coins, Strassburg, 1897.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.
SCCIM	Supplementary Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum by B. B. Bidyabinod, 1923.
SI	Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation by D. C. Sircar, second edition, Calcutta, 1965,

TAI	Tribes in Ancient India by B. C. Law, Poona, 1943.
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum.
VA	Vedic Age edited by R. C. Majumdar, second impression, Bombay, 1952.
VGA	Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, second impression, Delhi, 1954.
VSS	Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, Benares.

TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION

Bengali	Nagari	Roman	Pronunciation
আ	आ	*ā*	(as in *calm*)
ঈ	ई	*ī*	(as in *machine*)
ঊ	ऊ	*ū*	(as in *rule*)
ঋ	ऋ	*ṛi*	(as in *rich* or *writ*)
গ	ग	*ga*	(as in *give*)
ঙ	ङ	*ṅ*	
চ	च	*cha*	(as in *church*)
ছ	छ	*chha*	(an aspirated *ch* sound)
ঞ	ञ	*ñ*	(a palatal nasal sound)
ট	ट	*ṭa*	(These are retroflex consonants, different from the dental ones; the distinctions between them may be ignored by the general reader)
ঠ	ठ	*ṭha*	
ড	ड	*ḍa*	
ঢ	ढ	*ḍha*	
ণ	ण	*ṇa*	
থ	थ	*tha*	(as in *ant-hill*)
ফ	फ	*pha*	(as in *shepherd*)
শ	श	*śa*	(Both are generally pronounced like *sh* in *shape* or *shut*; in Sanskrit, however, the former is a palatal sound, the latter a retroflex)
ষ	ष	*sha*	
ং	ं	*ṁ*	
ঃ	ः	*ḥa*	(At the end of a word or syllable is a distinct emission of breath)

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INTRODUCTION

I

AS THE TITLE and the following pages will show, I have adopted the term 'tribe' as a general designation applied to the various communities whose coins and history have been subjected to a critical study in the present volume. It may be desirable at the outset to discuss the suitability of the term 'tribe' in the present context.

II

Alexander Cunningham (1891),[1] who first brought to notice the coins which I have taken up for special study, included them among the 'coins of ancient North India'. E. J. Rapson (1897)[2] described them as 'coins of native Indian states from the earliest times to c. 50 A. D.' (*sic*). It was V. A. Smith (1906)[3] who first employed the term 'tribe' to denote communities like the Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Nāgas, Rājanyas and Yaudheyas, describing their monetary issues as 'tribal coins'. S. K. Chakrabortty (1936)[4] and John Allan (1936)[5] and after them other historians and numismatists followed Smith.

No attempt seems to have been made so far to consider the question of the applicability of the term 'tribe' or 'tribal' in connection with the coins dealt with in the following pages. The question is whether these coins can be regarded as 'tribal' and if so, in what sense. It is necessary, therefore, to understand the meaning of the term 'tribe' to find out whether its application in the present context is suitable.

According to Risley,[6] "a tribe as we find it in India is a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name which as a rule does not denote any specific occupation ; generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor, and occasionally from an animal." A social group, a tribe usually occupies a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and its constituent families or smaller communities are linked through economic, social, religious, family or blood ties. As will be presently seen, such characteristics were displayed by the issuers of the coins discussed in this book.

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[1] *CAI*, p. 54f.

[2] *RIC*, p. 10f.

[3] *CCIM*, p. 160f.

[4] *NS*, XLVI, p. 31f.

[5] *CCBM*, p. lxxix.

[6] *The People of India*, p. 62.

Notwithstanding the relative paucity of data relating to these peoples, the combined testimony of diverse sources, numismatic and otherwise, shows that each of them formed a homogeneous social group occupying a definite area of habitation and speaking a common dialect. Thus each had Prakrit as its medium of expression with occasional predilection for Sanskrit (cf. the cases of the Ārjunāyanas, Kulūtas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, etc.) and though the Brāhmī script was prevalent, Kharoshṭhī was also used some times. Each community appears to have stood for itself and not for any individual. For instance, when the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas and Yaudheyas wished victory and if they boasted of any, the credit was given to the people as a whole (cf. the coin-legends : *Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ*, *Mālavānāṁ* or *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ*, *Yaudheyagaṇasya jayaḥ)*. It may be noted here that *gaṇa* in the coin-legends signifies a non-monarchical form of government, which was obtained among them. Thus the Mālava territory appears to have been once under a system in which government lay not in the hands of a king, but those of some persons selected on a hereditary principle. The Yaudheyas were ruled by themselves and probably divided themselves in three groups (cf. the occurrence of *dvi* and *tṛi*, i.e. second and third sections) on their coins. In some cases names of chiefs appear on their monetary issues, such as Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha and Mahādeva of the Audumbaras, Amoghabhūti of the Kuṇindas and Rudravarmā of the Vemakas who assumed titles such as *rājā* and *mahārājā* like the Lichchhavis of earlier times, thus showing the continuity of a non-monarchical form of government among these peoples. Belief in the existence of a common ancestor and the practice of tracing descent from him were also common amongst them. Thus the Audumbaras are known to have recognised Viśvāmitra as their ancestor and patron deity (*infra*, pp. 43-44, 63). Similarly, the Aśvakas had perhaps *aśva* or horse as their totem. Possibly many of the symbols appearing on the coins of the peoples under study may be associated with animistic beliefs derived from a common tradition. It appears that the communities like the Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Śibis, etc. can be appropriately described as tribes in the sense as indicated above, and some of them may have been of foreign extraction.[7]

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[7] The Epics, Purāṇas and Smṛiti texts, among others, are replete with references to peoples whom they have ubiquitiously branded either as *mlechchhas* or as *vrātyas*. Both these appellations were applied to persons or peoples who did not follow the established code of conduct ; in other words, they were culturally non-conformists and perhaps many of them were ethnically alien. Thus the list of peoples found in our literature, includes *inter alia* the Chīnas, Hūṇas, Kulūtas, Pāradas and Vāhlīkas all of whom appear to be foreigners, living

Indeed, peoples like the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas and Vemakas (same as Vaiyāmakas) are frequently mentioned along with well-known foreigners such as the Pāradas, Vāhlīkas, Hūṇas and Hārahūṇakas, Chīnas, etc.[8] The Kulūtas have been expressly described as *mlechchhas*, a term sometimes used to denote peoples of foreign origin. Particular mention in this connection may be made of the Śibis whose ancestors have been described in the Classical writings as descendants of soldiers under Herakles, exhibiting 'many traces of their Greek origin' and submitting to Alexander because of their 'kinship' with him. In some cases like those of the Rājanyas, Trigartas and Yaudheyas foreign origin is not so directly shown, but rather indirectly through their association with the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, etc. But this does not give the whole story of the emergence of these tribes as units who gradually lost their original ethnic character. For example, the survivals of the Agras, Audumbaras, Mālavas and Yaudheyas may be traced among the Agrawala Vaiśyas, Admera Rajputs and Audumbara Brahmins, and Johiya Rajputs respectively. Sometimes the truth about their assimilation into the broadening Hindu society lies hidden in myths and traditions.[9] It may not be without significance that a group of Brahmins, known as Audumbara Brahmins, in modern Gujarat belong to the *gotra* of Viśvāmitra, the sage with whom the connection of the Audumbaras

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on the fringe of India, both geographically and culturally. Yet it had never been difficult for them to get a place in the ever-expanding Hindu social organisation.

The Hinduization of the Magas of Śakadvīpa or the Seistan region of eastern Iran, is an illustration on the point. Indeed, notices of different ethnic types in indigenous literature reveal that the Hindu society had assigned a place to peoples within itself, be they indigenous or foreign, as in a like manner it has been trying to absorb tribal peoples like the Juangs, Oraons and Mundas in modern times. One of the main factors underlying this process of absorption is economic : if the Juangs, Oraons and Mundas show an interest in this process they do so obviously to derive greater economic advantages. In the light of this modern example of partial absorption of tribal peoples in Hindu society it seems probable that in ancient and mediaeval times as well indigenous and foreign tribal peoples were also eager to secure membership of the established *varṇa* system of the Hindus.

[8] For example, the Audumbaras are classed with the Pāradas and Vāhlīkas, the Kulūtas with Chīnas and Hūṇas, the Kuṇindas with Pāradas and Hārahūṇakas, and the Vaiyāmakas (Vemakas of coins) with the Daradas, Darvas, Pāradas, Vāhlīkas, etc.

[9] The mythical story of Viśvāmitra's elevation to the rank of a Brāhmaṇa seems to show that the issuers of the particular Audumbara coins with the figure of Viśvāmitra may have regarded themselves as Brāhmaṇas and left their descendants in the Audumbara Brāhmaṇas in Gujarat.

of ancient Punjab is known from literary and numismatic sources. Similarly, the modern Mālavīya Brahmins are not possibly unconnected with the Mālava-*dvijas* mentioned in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (XII. 1. 36). Then, there is the tradition of the modern Agrawala Vaiśyas hailing from the Hissar region which was the *janapada* of the Agra tribe. *Johiyabar* which corresponds to the land of the Yaudheyas is a name which possibly preserves some connection between them and the present-day Johiya Rajputs.

These instances unfold the process of Hinduization of peoples, originally tribes, by their admission into the fold of the caste-system. For instance, a section of the Audumbaras may be traced among Admera Rajputs of the Kshatriya order. In any case, the influence of the caste system is evident. Mention may be made here of the *nigama* (guild) coins discovered at Taxila which throw light on the socio-economic organization of the issuers concerned. Presumably similar guilds (usually hereditary) providing one of the vital bases of the caste system facilitated the Hinduization of our tribal peoples like the Agras, Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, etc.

III

The question whether a tribe is competent to issue coins may be answered in the following words: 'Coinage is an index not of a developed civilization but of a stage in its economic growth where specialized production, even if only in its most elementary forms, provides impulses which form the basis of commerce and create a demand for a convenient medium for their exchange.' Moreover, if in the light of the above discussion the tribal character of the peoples concerned is clear, the question does not arise, especially because it is unrelated to actual findings.

By what Indian word are we to designate these tribal peoples of ancient times? It is very difficult indeed to suggest an Indian equivalent of the word 'tribe' in the sense in which it has been used in the following pages. The word *jāti* generally used in the caste sense has also acquired the extended sense of a nation (cf. *jātīya saṅgīt*, 'national anthem', *Bhārata jāti*, 'Indian nation') and is hence inapplicable in the present case. The word *upajāti* has come into use in official circles to denote generally certain categories of peoples having ethnic affiliations of under-developed communities. The existing conditions are so intimately connected with the meaning of the word *upajāti* that the propriety of its use may be doubted. The use of the Arabic *qaum* meaning 'people' will not solve our difficulty. The old word *jana* with its underlying ethnic sense may be added to the word *goshṭhī* (a homogeneous group, cultural homogeneity being a tribal characteristic) and I would like to use the composite word *jana-goshṭhī* to signify the tribal peoples studied here. Loosely, however, the use of the word *upajāti* is permissible in the absence of any other better term in currency.[10]

IV

The term 'tribal coin' as well as its applicability have recently been a subject of discussion among Indian numismatists. K. D. Bajpai[11] favours the use of the nomenclature *janapada* for the coins of non-monarchical communities and monarchical states and of the term *naigama* or *nagara-naigama* for those bearing names of cities or the legend *negama* or *naigama*. P. L. Gupta[12] designates all these numismatic issues as 'local coins' and groups them along with the coins of the monarchical and city-states and of different localities ; in other words, he identifies the tribal and other contemporaneous issues as 'local', 'tribal' and 'monarchical' coins. B. N. Mukherjee[13] proposes to include in this category a few other coins such as those of the indigenous Ābhīras and foreign Pāradas as well as the issues of the early Pāṇḍyas ; he also suggests, subject to further discussion, that the initial coinage of the Sātavāhanas (Andhra kings of the Purāṇas) struck before the formation of their empire may have been tribal in character. It may be mentioned here that Allan[14] also extended the denotation of the term so as to include the specie of the Scytho-Parthian Satraps of Mathura in his list of tribal coins.

While Smith does not furnish any ground for the application of the term 'tribe' to the peoples concerned, Allan[15] accepts it on the strength of the word *gaṇa* appearing on their coins which he takes in the sense of 'tribe'. But his interpretation of term *gaṇa* is not acceptable as it signifies the 'a group' or 'multitude'; technically it refers to a non-monarchical type of political organisation. It is equally difficult to agree with Bajpai as regards the use of the term 'janapada', firstly because, it carries the sense of a territorial unit rather than that of a tribal group; and secondly because, it may further create confusion as it occurs specifically on certain coins. What term should then be applied to the coins without the word 'janapada'? Again, the description by P. L. Gupta of these coins as simply 'local' is too vague and wide to specify any particular series like those under discussion. Indeed, all tribal coins are local, but all local coins are not necessarily tribal. An exclusive application of the term 'local' will not cover all cases, but will be broadly suitable only for those associated with particular localities, such as Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbi, Pañchāla, etc. These again may be classified under three groups with varieties and sub-varieties: (*i*) coins without names of issuers, (*ii*) with names of issuers but not described as kings, and (*iii*) with names of issuers described as kings.

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[10] Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, with whom I had a talk on this issue, approves of the term I have coined : *jana-goshṭhī*. And he also favours *gaṇa* and *upajāti*. Professor Benoy Chandra Ṣen suggests *khaṇḍa jāti* (sub-peoples), *jāti* being understood in a larger sense, not in the sense of a caste. Incidentally, caste being *varṇa*, I would like to translate sub-caste as *upavarṇa*.

[11] *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, edited by A. K. Narain, pp. 1-2.

[12] *Coins*, p. 34f. While Jai Prakash follows Gupta in labelling all these specie as 'local coins' (see *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, edited by A. K. Narain, pp. 6-7), N. Ahmed reduces Gupta's divisions to two : 'local coins' comprising the issues of monarchical states, cities and guilds and 'tribal coins' consisting of the specie of the Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 17).

[13] Mimeographed copy of 'Tribal Coins of Ancient India : A Study in Terminology' presented in the Seminar on 'Tribal Coins of Ancient India' at the Hindu University, Varanasi, May 1, 1972, p. 3.

[14] *Ibid.*, cxi.   [15] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxix.

Regarding the monetary issues of the Ābhīras (if Īśvaradatta is to be considered as an Ābhīra) and early Pāṇḍyas, Mukherjee has not furnished definite evidence for their inclusion among tribal coins.[16] As to the coins of the early Sātavāhanas they appear to have been dynastic rather than tribal; further, there is no indication of tribal affiliation on their coins. If the Pāradas are believed to have issued coins, they may merit inclusion in our study, and we have done so, though not with absolute certainty. Allan is also wrong in describing the Satrapal coins of Mathura as 'tribal', since the Satraps of Mathura are not known to have belonged to any tribal community.

It has been suggested in connection with the Yueh-chi and the Kusāṇas that the coinage of a tribe ceases to be 'tribal' with the expansion of its territorial limits when it becomes 'imperial'.[17] As far as we see this suggestion has no significant bearing on the tribal coinages of ancient India. A tribe can exhibit its inclination towards imperialistic tradition as did the Kuṇindas, Mālavas and Yaudheyas without any loss of its original socio-political character. Secondly, even with an extensive territory and considerable power and prestige a tribe can remain essentially non-monarchical as in the case of the Yaudheyas. Although they were apparently more powerful in the third-fourth century A. D. than they had ever been before, they continued to describe themselves as a *gaṇa* people on their monetary issues (*Yaudheyagaṇasya jayaḥ*).

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[16] While it is extremely difficult to suggest a definite date for the earliest currency consisting of square and rectangular pieces of the Pāṇḍyas, there is no evidence to suggest that the issuers of these coins constituted a tribe. Incidentally, the chronological range of the Pāṇḍya coinage seems to lie between 200 B. C. and A. D. 300.

[17] B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

V

Readers will find in the following pages comprehensive accounts of fourteen tribes of Northern India, viz. the Agras, Ārjunāyanas, Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Rājanyas, Śibis, Trigartas, Uddehikas, Vemakas, Vṛishṇis and Yaudheyas. The list excludes the Nāgas whose coins have been found at Eran (Airikiṇa), Bhilsa (Vidiśā), Padam Pawaya (Padmāvatī), Kutwar (Kantipuri) and Mathurā.[18] Thus the Nāgas were a widely separated people with a culture and history which affected Indian civilisation on a vaster scale than can be sufficiently appreciated from a study of their coins. It is quite significant that the word *Nāga* is found to have been used in some sources including coins as a part of personal names of rulers, a sort of dynastic appellation, rather than a tribal designation. Besides, unlike the present communities the so-called Nāgas were essentially a monarchical people, a fact strengthened by their exclusion from the list of the non-monarchical tribal peoples of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta. More positive evidence is indeed needed to justify the inclusion of the Nāgas of the coins as a tribe to be grouped with the Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas and others on the lines of classification and interpretation as followed in this work.

In the course of a century and a half there has been a fairly rich accumulation of materials on the basis of which it is possible for us to attempt a comprehensive study of tribal coinages. Works of A. Cunningham, V. A. Smith, John Allan, R. D. Banerji, and others are of a particular value for a study of these coinages, as they contain more or less systematic classifications of numismatic materials with original views and suggestions about their historical significance. In recent times the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* has been rendering valuable service to the cause of Indian numismatics by publishing notices and accounts of coins being brought to light from time to time. Thus there has already been accumulated considerable new materials and ample literature on the subject, necessitating a fresh approach and reassessment of several points pertaining to this tribal coinage. Although I must acknowledge my indebtedness to my *purvasūris*, I have differed from their theories and methods in many instances.

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[18] A good account of these coins has been given by H. V. Trivedi in his monograph, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmavati.*

VI

My work aims at bringing together all the available data subjected to a detailed and systematic examination. So far as historical reconstruction is concerned, I have tried to offer some suggestions for which I may claim originality. Thus I have thrown a new light with the help of literary data on the occurrence of the figure of Viśvāmitra on the two silver coins of Viśvāmitra—a peculiarity hitherto unexplained. In this connection I may add that my suggestion that the Audumbaras left their descendants in the Audumbara Brahmins of Gujrat have recently received some interesting corroboration (see 'Supplementary Notes'). Similarly, I have pointed out that the curious legends—*Bhapaṁyana*, *Mapojaya*, *Magajaśa*, etc.—met with on certain Mālava coins may reasonably be explained as standing for names of the Mālava chiefs who were Indians, and not foreigners as Smith believed; nor are these legends "meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavanāṁ jaya*" as was suggested by Allan. The word *Sudavapa* occurring on the coins of Sūryamitra in the Uddehika series which was so long a puzzle to scholars has been explained by me as a place-name. Also I have offered a satisfactory, and perhaps a final, interpretation of the legend on the unique coin of the Vṛishṇis, and have suggested on its basis that the issuer or issuers of this coin was or were inclined to commemorate the lord Kṛishṇa, the deified hero of the Vṛishṇi clan, following their triumph over some enemies.

I have not been contented with a mere classification of coins and their types, but have seriously attempted to explain various aspects of the coinages studied, viz. metrology, chronology, art and iconography, and ethnology. As regards metrology, the material is of such a bewildering variety that in the words of Allan it may be said that the problems raised by it are well-nigh impossible to be satisfactorily solved. I have, however, made an humble effort to offer a few considered suggestions with regard to the vexed question of metrology within the sphere of my present research. The multifarious devices and symbols, animals, as well as human and divine figures, have been closely studied with a view to forming an idea about their religious, iconographic and ethnographic contents. Of course, it is not possible to deal with matters of ethnological interest in the absence of exhaustive materials. However, with the help of literary data, the racial origins and affiliations of some of the tribes, notably the Audumbaras and Mālavas, have been investigated in a manner which has been helpful in arriving at a few important conclusions, not in disagreement with numismatic finds. In this connection, one cannot but be indebted to J. Przyluski for his valuable contributions towards a critical study of the intricate problems of tribal ethnology. So far as chronology is concerned, there is a consensus among scholars that the coins discussed in this thesis cover the period roughly extending from the second century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. But the antiquity of some of the tribes concerned may be pushed back to an earlier period for which the evidence is to be culled from Classical sources and Indian literature including grammatical texts. In exploring these sources I have been especially careful and have thus been able to obtain some new materials which I have found useful in discussing the early history of the tribes. The broad period from circa 200 B. C. to A. D. 350 is divisible into successive sections for the purpose of the classification of coinages on chronological basis. This requires a minute study of the changing peculiarities of the coinages from palaeographical, linguistic and other standpoints. I have also tried to throw light on contemporary political history in relation to the coinages, and the types of political organisation which prevailed among the Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Śibis, Yaudheyas and others. A point of special interest is the evidence, which is furnished by coins, of divine association with some of the tribal governments. Our coinages belong to a stage intervening between the punch-marked coins and well-developed Gupta coinage assimilating some of the features of the numismatic issues of the foreign rulers of India like the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushāṇas.

I may add that the sources intensively utilised in this work include not only those previously examined by others but also some new ones like the *Mahāmāyūrī*, *Chāndravyākaraṇa* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (the last-named text is generally ignored) which have not received the attention they deserve. No material has been incorporated in the work without proper scrutiny. I have acknowledged all the sources used by me, including researches of modern scholars, pertinent to the subject.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that though my approach to the subject is numismatic, I have tried to take my work far beyond dry numismatic research aiming at the reconstruction of the history of issuers of the coins on the basis of an integrated study of materials gleaned from every possible source. I agree with Sutherland's[19] remark that 'if a numismatist wishes to extract all the benefit from his subject he must either be, or become, an historian' and the similar observation of Jones[20] that 'numismatists must in fact be historians to do their own work satisfactorily'. A student of numismatics though, I have tried to present a history rather than a purely 'Corpus' type of work. I hope my readers will also look upon my book as a historical work which is the first serious attempt to bridge the gap between the post-Maurya and the pre-Gupta period, the so-called 'dark period' of early Indian history, by bringing to limelight the tribal peoples practising monetary economy, who have so far failed to receive the attention they deserve.

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[19] Sutherland, C. H. V., *Ancient Numismatics*, p. 12.

[20] Quoted by Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

CHAPTER 1

THE AGRAS

A GROUP of coins generally bearing the legend in early Brāhmī characters : *Agodaka* (or *-e*) *Agāchajanapadasa* i.e. *Agrodakāt* (or *Agrodake*) *Agratyajanapadasya* is to be attributed to a tribe named Agra on the assumption that *Agratya* is equivalent to *Agācha* which means 'people of Agra'.[1] There are nine coins of the tribe in the cabinet of the British Museum[2] besides one in the cabinet of the Indian Museum.[3] All the British Museum specimens, excepting one, were chiefly procured by C. J. Rodgers at Barwalla in the Punjab.[4] The provenance of the Indian Museum piece, however, is not recorded though it seems that it also came from the Punjab. A further number of 51 coins bearing the above legend came to light as a result of the excavation carried out during 1938-39 by H. L. Srivastava at Agrohā,[5] a village situated on the metalled road between Hissar and Fatehabad at a distance of 14 miles from the former. These coins, as Srivastava reports, were found in a hoard in a widemouthed pottery vase at a depth of 14′. Along with this find was also discovered another small hoard of five silver coins—one coin each of Antialkidas, Apollodotus, Strato and Amyntas and one punch-marked coin with solar and tree symbols—buried in another pottery vase.[6] Altogether, these coins show that in days of yore there was a flourishing *janapada* named Agra whose chief city appears to have been known as Agrodaka, the region being represented by the modern village of Agroha, the find-spot of our coins.

The antiquity of Agroha is vouchsafed not only by coins found in a definite archaeological stratum but also by a good number of archaeological remains comprising pottery, terracotta and copper objects, fragments of stone sculptures, plaques, seals, etc.[7] Besides the coins assignable to the second-first centuries B. C. (see later), there are also some pieces of literary evidence about the antiquity of Agroha. Agroha as a prosperous town figures in the works of Ziāu'-d Din Barani[8] and Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif[9] as a part of Hisār-i-Fīrūza. As Ibn-i-Baṭuṭa[10] informs us, in Muhammad Tughluq's time Agroha fell into decay due to a severe famine. Later it was completely eclipsed by the new town called Hisār-i-Fīrūza. Ibn-i-Baṭuṭa further informs us that Firūz Shah Tughluq in the course of the construction of this town utilized materials which he had obtained by demolishing Hindu temples and buildings at Agroha. Baṭuṭa's statement is supported by actual remains of buildings like Gujri Mahal, Firūz Shah's Mosque and Jahāz Kothi at Hissar and the mosque at Fatehabad. There is an interesting local tradition recorded in Dr. Satyaketu's book in Hindi, *Agrwāl Jāti Kā Prāchin Itihāsa*, which ascribes the foundation of Agroha to one Rājā Agra, later named as Agra Sāin, from whom the Agrwals or Agravāls derive their descent. The tradition further connects the remains of a fort on the top of a mound in the north-west part of the village with the residence of Rājā Agra of unknown date. Agroha, it may further be noted, believed to have been 'the original seat' of Agravāls, was left by the community in the twelfth century A. D.[11]

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[1] L. D. Barnett's article in *BSOAS*, X, p. 277f. For details see later.

[2] *CCBM*, pp. cliii, clvii, p. 279, Pl. XLV, 9 and pp. 282-83, Pl. XLV, 21-24.

[3] *CCIM*, p. 206, 11, Pl. XXIII, 12. Coin No. 10 (*Ibid.*, p. 205) may also be doubtfully assigned to the Agras on the ground of common devices like tree in railing and lion. The legend is, however, illegible.

[4] *CCBM*, p. clvii.

[5] *MASI*, 61, p. 5. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

THE NAME AND ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIBE

The name of the *janapada*, as the coin legends show, was Agra, for the word *Agratya* of the legends means 'an inhabitant of the Agra country'. Agra was the name of the tribe as well. The earliest reference to this tribe is found in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, who may be placed in the fifth century B. C.[12] The grammarian uses both

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[8] Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 245.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 300.

[10] *CHI*, III, p. 153.

[11] *Gazetteer of the Hisar district* (1883-84), p. 38. Also *IG*, V, pp. 91-92.
'The Aggarwals are said to have immigrated to this part and founded a town which they called Agroha after Raja Aggar Sen ; it was subsequently attacked and destroyed by the Musalmans after which the Aggarwals dispersed to the south and east. The ruins of Agroha, in this district, certainly show that at one time it was a large and important city, and it is very likely that it was a wealthy and prosperous settlement of Banias from Eastern Rajputana, at the time that the Ghaggar was a perennial river and fertilized a far larger area than it does now. Unable to advance in face of the northern Khatris and Aroras they spread back in a south-easterly direction.' *Punjab District Gazetteers*, Hissar District and Loharu State, 1904 (Lahore, 1908), p. 75.

[12] Cf. "...a date nearer the fifth century B.C. for Pāṇini appears more probable," *IPA*, p. 477.

Agra[13] and its derivative form Agrāyana,[14] the former as the name of a people. The word *Agrāyana* connected with Agra is also referred to by Baudhāyana[15] and Patañjali.[16] Āgreya, evidently derived from Agra, appears as the name of a tribe in the *Mahābhārata*[17] in association with the Bhadras, Rohītakas and Mālavas. The geographical list of the *Mahāmāyūrī*,[18] a Buddhist text which belongs to the first three or four centuries of the Christian era, also refers to Agrodaka, a name which is found in the Prakrit form *Agodaka* on the coins attributed to the Agras. The *Chāndravyākaraṇa*,[19] composed by a Buddhist scholar named Chandragomin who is usually believed to have flourished in about the fifth century A.D.,[20] refers to the Agras who are also mentioned in the *Kāśikā*[21] and the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*,[22] two noted grammatical works, the former belonging to the seventh century A.D.,[23] and the latter belonging to the eleventh century A.D.[24]

Turning to the Classical accounts, we come across a people called the Agalassoi. According to the Classical writers,[25] the people mustered an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horses for their fight against Alexander, who lost 'not a few Macedonians' in pressing the attack on their city. The Agalassoi appear to have been the neighbours of the Siboi (Indian Śibis), another Punjab tribe. The Agalassoi may have been identical with the Agras of coins. Like the Agalassoi the Agras were also a people of the Punjab who had their chief city at Agrodaka taken as identical with Aggalapura of the *Vinayapiṭaka* (II. 300). According to this text, the city lay on the great trade-route which ran from the valley of the Ganges to Taxila. L. D. Barnett[26] observes that *Aggala* of *Aggalapura* has been used as the title of a tribe in support of which he quotes a number of similar instances where *-la* or *-ḷa* appears as a name-ending to designate tribes or the lands in which they dwelt. Thus the Agalassoi may be taken as representing Aggalas, the inhabitants of Aggalapura (=Agrodaka), identified with the Agras of Agrodaka.[27]

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[13] IV. 1. 99.

[14] IV. 1. 102.

[15] See *JNSI*, IV, p. 52. Also *EBSGP*, pp. 124, 158, 163, 168. Agrāyana appears as the name of a grammarian in Yāska's *Nirukta* (X. 8).

[16] V. 4. 36.

[17] III. 255. 20. Nirnayasagara and Chitrasala editions. A variant form *Āgneya* occurs in some editions. The correct form, however, seems to be *Āgreya*, as it is found in association with the names of some tribes such as the Bhadras, Rohītakas and Mālavas. It is to be noted in this connection that Rohītaka, country of the Rohītaka people, identical with modern Rohtak, is not very far from Agroha.

[18] *JA*, 1915, pp. 34, 49, 65, 99. Also *JUPHS*, XV, 2, pp. 27-28, 33, 45. The text twice refers to Agrodaka (II. 18, 70) and assigns it to the tutelary *yakshas*, Mālyadhara and Muñjakeśa.

[19] II. 4. 35.

[20] Belvalkar gives A. D. 470 as the approximate date of Chandragomin, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 58-59. S. K. De, however, places him in the sixth century A. D., *History of Bengal*, I (Dacca University), p. 296f.

[21] IV. 1. 99.

[22] IV. 1. 81.

[23] Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[24] T. R. Chintamani's edition, pp. xiii-xiv.

[25] Diodorus, XVII, 96; Curtius, IX, 4.

As to the name Agrodaka it is to be noted that it is present in the form *Agodaka* in the coin-legend, probably suggesting that the region was so-called because of a reservoir of water or lake which formed its distinguishing feature. Whatever may be the origin of the name, its connection with Agra-Agratya *janapada* may be regarded as certain.[28]

COINS OF THE AGRAS

Coins of the Agras are made of copper and mostly of rectangular or square shape. There are some round copper coins, as for instance, in the British Museum, all of which belong to the usual types—'tree : bull' and 'tree : lion'.[29] Generally both the sides of the coins bear legends in Brāhmī, though the reverse legends are in most cases found to be indistinct or blurred. The legends on two sides are the same. The complete legend has been restored from different specimens, which reads *Agodaka* (or *-e*) *Agāchajanapadasa.* The device on the obverse remains same in all instances while the animal on the reverse is generally bull shown either to right or to left and sometimes it is put in a circle like its counterpart on Rājanya coins. Two other animals—lion and a curious composite animal—are met with on the reverse. On the reverse of two unique pieces, now in the British Museum, the figure of Lakshmī appears. Thus we propose to put 'tree : bull' type of coins in Class 1, 'tree : lion' in Class 2 and 'tree : composite animal' in Class 3 and 'tree : Lakshmī' in Class 4. The classes are again subdivided into varieties chiefly on the grounds of minor details relating to the devices. The coins now may be classified thus.

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[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

[27] The identification of Aggalapura with ancient Agrodaka (or Agroda) and modern Agroha was first made by Przyluski, *JA*, 1926, I, p. 16f. Some are inclined to take the Aṅgalaukikas of Indian literature identical with the Agalassoi, see *GDAMI*, p. 8.

[28] In some mediaeval inscriptions another form of the place-name is found : *Agrotaka*. It appears, for instance, in an inscription dated February, 1328, *EI*, I, pp. 93-94.

[29] There is another round copper coin belonging to the 'tree : lion' type, *CCIM*, p. 206, 11, pl. XXIII, 12.

Class 1

Variety A

Obverse : Tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī
Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa

Reverse : Bull standing to right. Legend in Brāhmī
Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa (CN 1)

Variety B

Obverse Same. Legend in Brāhmī
Agāchamita (—?).

Reverse : Same. *(CN 2)*

N.B. This variety is due to the less common legend *Agāchamita* (—?) for the restoration and interpretation of which see later.

Variety C

Obverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī as in Variety A.
Reverse : Bull standing to right sometimes in a rayed circle. *(CN 3)*

Variety D

Obverse : Same. Legend as preceding.

Reverse : Bull standing to left. *(CN 4)*

Variety E

Obverse : Same. Legend as preceding.

Reverse : Bull standing to left in a circle (sometimes in a rayed circle). *(CN 5)*

Class 2

Variety A

Obverse : Same. Legend same.

Reverse : Lion looking right in circle (sometimes rayed). (*CN 6*)

Variety B

Obverse : Same. Legend same.

Reverse : Lion standing on a mountain. (*CN 7*)

Variety C

Obverse : Same, i.e. tree-in-railing. Legend in Brāhmī as in Class 1 : *Agāchamitapa.*

Reverse : Lion standing on a mountain. No legend. (*CN 8*)

Variety D

Obverse : Same.

Reverse : Lion standing on a mountain. No legend. (*CN 9*)

Variety E

Obverse : Same. Legend incomplete *—dabhichaya—*

Reverse : Same. No legend. (*CN 10*)

Class 3

Variety A

Obverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī *A* (*go*) *da Agāchajanapada* (*sa*).

Reverse : Composite animal with bull's body and owl's head with two large glaring eyes in a circle. (*CN 11*)

Variety B

Obverse : Same. Legend same.

Reverse : Composite animal with bull's body and a double hand, one being of elephant (?) and another of a lion (?). (*CN 12*)

Class 4

Obverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī
Agodaka Agāchaja-
Reverse : Lakshmī standing facing, holding stalk of lotus in left hand. (*CN 13*)

INTERPRETATION OF COIN-LEGENDS

The account of the coins furnished above will show that the legends on them are of two varieties, the reading of the second one being controversial (*i*) *Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa* or *Agodake Agāchajanapadasa*; (*ii*) *Agāchamitrapadābhisa* (J. Allan),[30] *Agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyināṁ* or *Agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinaḥ* (L. D. Barnett).[31] The last reading proposed by Barnett has been accepted by D. C. Sircar.[32]

Prakrit *Agodaka* of the legend may correspond to Sanskrit *Agrodakāt* or *Agrodake*. The reading *Agodake* obviously stands for *Agrodake*. *Agodaka* (or *Aggodaka*) is derived from *agga* (Prakrit form of Sanskrit *agra*) which is used as a substantive signifying (*i*) top point, summit, (*ii*) front, forepart, (*iii*) beginning, (*iv*) excess, and as an adjective denoting (*v*) first in place or time, foremost, (*vi*) excellent, chief, etc. (also see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 6). *Agrodaka* (or *Agodaka*) may, therefore, mean 'place of foremost waters.'[33] If *Agra* is taken to be the name of a tribe, as we have done, it will mean 'waters (i. e. tank) of the Agras'. In support of such an interpretation P. L. Gupta[34] refers to a traditional story, connected with the ruin of a big tank at Agroha, the modern equivalent of ancient Agrodaka.[35] That names with the *udaka*- ending were not unknown in ancient times is shown by the example of Pṛithūdaka,[36] which is identical with modern Pehowa in the Karnal district of Hariyana, not very far from Agroha.

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[30] *CCBM*, p. clviii. For Allan's subsequent reading, see later, p. 9.

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

[32] *OH*, VIII, 2, p. 72. In his article D. C. Sircar criticizes a reading said to have been proposed by Barnett, but actually the same reading has found favour with Sircar. It appears from Sircar's comments that Barnett has offered a reading which is unacceptable to him.

[33] Barnett derives Panjabi *aggā* (<Pkt **aggayam*< **aggakam*), i.e. 'front, forepart', Hindi *āge* (<**aggaye*<**aggake*), i.e. 'before' in place or time, and Gujarati *āg* i.e. 'passage in front of a house'. And hence he interprets *Aggodaka* or *Agrodaka* as 'place of foremost waters', *op. cit.*, p. 278.

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

[35] Barnett is, however, inclined to derive Agrohā from a Prakrit **Agga-rohaya*, 'foremost bank', from Sanskrit **Agra-rodhaka*, parallel to a likely derivation of a town named *Amrohā* from Sanskrit *Āmra-rodhaka*. He points out that the Panjabi *rohī* (< **rohiyā*< **rodhikā*) denotes among other things 'the bed of a stream or the stream itself' and thus "*Agrohā* would be an almost exact equivalent of *Aggodaka*", *op. cit.*, p. 278.

Difficulty also arises in regard to the interpretation of the second part of the legend which consists of *Agācha* and *janapadasa*. *Agācha* and *janapadasa* taken together may be supposed to mean 'of Agācha *janapada*', just as *Śibijanapadasa* means 'of *Śibijanapada*'. But how is the word *Agācha* derived? Barnett[37] traces *Agācha* to **agrā-tya* or **agrāt-tya* (cf. *Paśchāttya* and *Dakshiṇātya*, i.e. 'dwelling in the west' and 'dwelling in the south'). According to him,[38] "both *agrātya* and *agrāttya* would become in Prakrit either *aggacca*, or in some dialects (including the parents of Western Panjabi, Sindhi and Lahndi) *aggāca*, spelt on our coins *agāca*". The legend may thus be taken to mean the 'foremost country' (*Agratya*), *Agachcha* being the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *Agratya*. But this interpretation leaves the name of the *janapada* itself unmentioned. Evidence is not lacking to show that *Agra* was actually the name of a *janapada*, of which *Agratya* is a derivative as used in the coin-legend.

Mention may be made of other suggestions regarding the derivation of *Agācha*. Allan[39] and after him K. N. Dikshit[40] hold that *Agācha* of the coin-legend may be equated with *Agastya*. Dikshit[41] also finds *Aṅgatya* to be a likely source for *Agācha*. The derivation of *Agācha* from *Agastya* is philologically impossible. *Agācha* may come from *Aṅgatya* but *Aṅgatya*, i.e. 'pertaining to Aṅga (country)' does not suit the present context, for Aṅga was a country in the east. P. L. Gupta[42] is inclined to consider *Agācha* as the Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *Āgreya*, the latter word appearing as the name of a tribe in the *Mahābhārata*. He tries to link philologically *Agācha* with *Āgreya*, and derives *Agācha* thus: *Āgreya* first becomes *Agajja* and then *Agajja* becomes *Agachcha* or *Agācha*. Though Gupta's derivation finds support of some scholars[43] like G. S. Hirachand Ojha and A. S. Altekar, it is difficult, however, to accept it. If we are to accept the derivation of *Agācha* from *Āgreya*, we have to assume the change of *ya* to *cha*. But such a change, we know, happens in the later period and not in the days of inscriptional Prakrit. Further, the change of the vowel *e* to *a* as well as the modification of the initial vowel *ā* to *a* remain unexplained. The suggestion of Gupta is, therefore, untenable.[44]

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[36] Pṛithūdaka, a *tīrtha* on the Sarasvatī, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 83. 7012, P. C. Ray's edition). The name means either 'pool of Pṛithu', a legendary king, or 'having extensive water'.

[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Op. cit.*, p. clviii.

[40] See *JNSI*, IV, p. 50.

[41] *Ibid.* Dikshit admits, however, that the name of the tribe who issued these coins was *Agra*. Panna Lall also holds the same opinion, *ibid.* The equation of *Agācha* with *Agastya* is upheld by Jagannath, *CHIS*, p. 111.

[42] *JNSI*, IV, p. 51.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

It now becomes almost certain, therefore, that *Agāchajanapada* can be sanskritized as *Agratyajanapada*.[45] The word *Agratya* is the name of a country (hence of the people of Agra or Agratya) and the name is derived, in its turn, from the name of the tribe *Agra* (*Āgreya*, it may be noted, is also derived from *Agra*). From the above discussion it may be held as probable that the original name of the region was Agra, presumably after the name of the tribe. Later on with the emergence of a *janapada* it came to be known as *Agratyajanapada*, appearing in Prakrit as *Agāchajanapada* on coins. Its chief city or capital was Agrodaka, probably the mint-town of the tribe. The legend *Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa* will, therefore, mean : '(coin) of the Agratyajanapada (issued) from Agrodaka'. If the reading is *Agodake* instead of *Agodaka*, the meaning of the legend will be : '(coin) of the Agratyajanapada (current) at Agrodaka'.

The second legend, which is a controversial one, appears on a few round copper coins belonging to the cabinet of the British Museum.[46] The first part of the legend concerned *Agachamita* (*tra*) *pa* (*da*) seems to be certain and the second part—*bhishṭhāyināṁ* (or *-bhishṭhāyinaḥ*) has been restored by Barnett[47] apparently on the basis of the reading *-bhishayānā* made by Allan[48] after the publication of the *Catalogue*. A comparison of this legend with the previous one, i.e. *Agodaka Agāchajana-*

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[44] I gratefully acknowledge the help received from my colleague S. N. Ghosal of the Department of Sanskrit of the University of Calcutta in the matter of the derivation of *Agācha*. Ghosal also finds it extremely difficult to accept Gupta's view.

[45] *Agācha* seems to be derived from *Agratya* thus: *Agācha*<*Aggacha*< *Aggachcha*<*Agratya*.

[46] M. M. Nagar notices a 'tree : lion' type of coin found at Katra Kesavadeva in the vicinity of Mathura in *JNSI*, VIII, p. 32. The legend on this coin has been read by him as *Agāchami* (*tapada*). If this legend as read by him is taken to be true, the coin on which it appears will be regarded as an additional piece to be included in the category of a few British Museum specimens on which this rare legend occurs.

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 279. The word *abhishṭhāyin* is uncommon in literature but it seems to be regularly derived from *abhishṭhā*,—meaning primarily 'stand upon', hence 'dominate', or 'be supreme', *ibid.*

[48] *Ibid.*

padasa will, therefore, show that *janapada* of the first legend has been replaced by *mitrapada* in the legend under study. Barnett takes *mitrapada* to mean 'the Allied State' and hence he interprets *Agāchamitrapadā* as 'the Allied State of the Aggāchas'. The other part of the legend in question was, as has been said above, *-bhishṭhāyinām̐* or *-bhishṭhāyinaḥ* and thus the entire legend may be *Agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinām̐* or *Agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinaḥ* to be translated in either case as '(coin) of the rulers (or ruler) of the Allied State of the Aggāchas i.e. Agachas'.[49] Accordingly the coinage is to be regarded as belonging to the 'Allied State of the Agras or Agratyas', though there may be some room for doubt about the second part of the legend *-bhishṭhāyinām̐* or *-bhishṭhāyinaḥ*.

D. C. Sircar accepts the reading as proposed by Barnett. He,[50] however, sanskritizes *Agāchamitra* as *Agratyamitra* and thus offers an interpretation of the entire legend which is different from that of Barnett. Sircar translates the legend as '(this is the coin) of those who dwell at the feet of Agratyamitra' and takes *Agratyamitra* of the legend as meaning 'the friend of the Agratyas' who was none other than 'the tutelary deity of the Agratyas of Agrodaka'. On this basis he[51] suggests that the coins in question 'were issued by the Agratyas not directly in the name of their tutelary deity, as in the case of some of the coins of the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas, but in the name of themselves represented as the devotees of the god Agratyamitra of Agrodaka'. It is, however, difficult to support this interpretation. No doubt, there are some instances of tribal coins associated with gods (cf. the Kuṇinda and Yaudheya coinage), but in the present case *Agratyamitra* as the name of a god is not known from any source. Besides there is no representation of any such god on the coins of this tribe.

THE PERIOD OF THE AGRA COINS

Coins of the Agras are monoscriptual bearing legends in Brāhmī characters only. Some of the letters like *g* and *m* are of the Maurya variety. They are round in shape differing from angular forms characterising a later development. Palaeographically, therefore, the Agra coins may be assigned to the second-first centuries B. C., if not a little earlier. This dating seems to be supported by a comparative study of their coins and those of the Rājanyas, Mālavas and Vṛishṇis. Lion as a device, for instance, is confined prominently to the Agras and Rājanyas. This device is found on the unique silver coin of the Vṛishṇis and perhaps also on a solitary coin of the Śibis, now in the collection of the Indian Museum. Some copper coins of the Mālavas also bear the lion device. A further similarity is noticed in the representation of a female figure, taken to be a goddess, on the coins of the Agras which resembles that of a deity appearing on the coin of the Rājanyas as well as on some early Mathura coins.[52] In spite of some minor differences, there is a basic similarity in respect of the representation of the deity on these different groups of coins. On the coins of the Agras, again, is to be seen sometime an animal, bull or lion, confined within a rayed circle. This is a feature which is also met with on the Rājanya coinage. Metrologically, the Agra coins come close to the Rājanya species. The Agra coins, however, having legends only in Brāhmī, differ prominently from the Rājanya coinage which has legends in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, though in other respects, as noticed above, the affinity between them is well apparent. Thus the resemblances between the Agra and the Rājanya coins tend to bring them within the limits of a particular period,[53] second-first centuries B. C. The conclusion thus arrived at on numismatic grounds is compatible with the view about their chronological position held on the basis of inscriptional, literary and other data as well. Originally or at least in the age of Alexander the Agalassoi, the Siboi and the Malloi were neighbours possibly with similar cultural traits. If the identification of the Agalassoi with the Agras is to be accepted, it will be found that, regionally speaking, at a particular period these different tribes formed a connected group though tribal dispersals are known to have taken place at a subsequent stage of their history.

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[49] K. N. Dikshit reads *Agāchamitasa* instead of *Agāchamitapa(da)*. He takes *Agāchamitasa* "as the name of some king, who might be Agastyamitra, connected with the Agastya janapada", see *JNSI*, IV, p. 50. But the derivation of *Agācha* from *Agastya* is not philologically possible (see before, p. 8).

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 72. [51] *Ibid.*

METROLOGY OF THE AGRA COINS

Weights of the coins found at Agroha vary from 13 to 42 grains while those of the coins preserved in the collection of the British

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[52] The discovery of an Agra coin at Mathura, already noted, may be recalled here. M. M. Nagar, who notices this coin in *JNSI*, VIII, p. 32, holds "that there was brisk intercourse between Agrodaka and Mathura." The discovery of one solitary coin, however, cannot be regarded as definitely indicating any such commercial intercourse between these two places.

[53] The coins of the Mālavas as well as the Vṛishṇi and Śibi coinage also belong to the same period.

Museum range from 23·5 to 119·5 grains. The Indian Museum specimen weighs 53·1 grains. As regards the coin weighing 119·5 grains, it may be noted that the difference between this weight and that of the *paṇa* weight of 142 or 144 grains is considerable. This is not equivalent to the weight of any possible subdivision of the *paṇa* standard which may have been current. This remark also applies to the other Agra coins of differing weights.

Devices on the Agra Coins

Among the few devices found on Agra coins, the tree is a very common one. The other devices are bull, lion, and female figure. The devices are, therefore, four in number. They are described below.

(*i*) *Tree* : On the coins of the Agras the tree is found to have been put within an enclosure which is indicative of the sanctity attached to it. The tree on the present species has four or six branches and sometimes the execution is marked by a clarity of design and concreteness of vision (cf. *CCBM*, Pl. XLV, 9).

Tree-cult[54] is as old as the human civilisation and "the sacred tree is deeply rooted in the primitive religious ideas of the human race". Attempts have been made by scholars to trace three stages in the evolution of the tree-cult : in the earliest stage the sacred tree is more than a symbol aglow with divine light and invested with divine life ; in the second stage the sacred tree is planted in holy ground taking the place of the abode of the deity ; and, the third stage, a symbolic one, is familiarly illustrated by the 'grove' or *asherat*, the common adjunct of the Canaanite shrine ; in this stage it is a wooden pillar, representative like the living tree of the deity, 'the token of the deity's presence or a magnet for attracting it'. However, it is a notable feature of the history of human beliefs and customs that a number of trees are found to be associated with a number of deities. As for instance, oak was favoured by Zeus in ancient Greece. In India each Buddha has his own tree. Gautama attained his *sambodhi* (enlightenment) under the *pipal* tree. The antiquity of the tree-cult in India goes back to the days of the Indus civilization and early Indian sculpture and coinage bear ample testimony to the popularity of the cult. References to the practice of worshipping tree-spirits in the *Jātakas* (cf. nos. 5, 109, 307, etc.) and in the *Manusaṁhitā* (III. 88) as well as the mention of *chaityavṛikshas* and *devāraṇyas* in the Epics[55] further prove its antiquity and popularity. Indians also consider trees as abodes of gods and sometimes as gods personified. Hence they, irrespective of their personal faiths and beliefs, reserve their veneration for trees. Perhaps some such veneration for trees led the Agras to adopt the tree-motif as a device for their coinage.

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[54] Incidentally, it may be noted that the followers of Zoroaster hold that 'all plants are sacred'. Such a principle, indeed, lies at the root of all plant-lore and all tree-cults.

(ii) Bull: Though not as common as tree, bull is also found to have been extensively used as a device by ancient Indian money-makers. It appears in a number of instances (cf. the Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Śibis, Yaudheyas, etc.). The sanctity and the popularity of the animal in India[56] may be traced back to a very remote period as will be evident from the archaeological finds at pre- and proto- historic sites of India. In Asokan art as well as on objects like seals unearthed, for example, at Basarh, Besnagar, Bhita, etc. representations of this animal are met with. In the Hindu belief, bull is the theriomorphic representation of the great god Śiva. It is also his *vāhana* or vehicle.[57] And as such, it appears not only on tribal or similar coins, but also on the coins of foreigners like the Kushāṇas and Hūṇas who played their respective roles in ancient Indian history and culture.

On Agra coins the bull is endowed with a hump, which is sometimes prominent (cf. *CCBM*, Pl. XLV, 21). The sacred character of the bull is probably signified by its being placed within a rayed circle. The connection of the animal with Śiva being a well-known fact, its representation on Agra coins may show the veneration of the tribe for the great god.

(iii) Lion: Though in animal-lore lion takes the proud position of the king of beasts, however, in reality, it occupies an undistinguished place in savage beliefs and customs. The cult associated with lion or lioness is quite old. For instance, at Syracuse in ancient Greece a lioness was led in a procession in honour of Artemis.[58] Lion was also the distinctive mount of the Babylonian goddess Nanaia (Anahita)

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[55] See Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 6-8.

[56] Not only peoples of ancient India, but also peoples of many parts of the ancient world used to venerate bulls. For instance, the Hellenic god Dionysus in European folk-lore is sometimes seen represented as a bull and this form of the god was an "expression for his character as a deity of vegetation especially as the bull is a common embodiment of corn-spirit in Northern Europe", Frazer, *Golden Bough* (St. Martin's Library, pp. 513, 611).

D. B. Spooner, however, discerns the Zoroastrian influence in the bull-device on ancient Indian coins, cf. his confident statement: "The humped bull is readily explainable with reference to the Bull of Mithra", *JRAS*, 1915, p. 412.

[57] Zimmer traces the origin of the *vāhana* of a divinity in the technique of picture of rebus writing of the ancient Near East, *MSIAC*, p. 71.

[58] See *ERE*, I, p. 521.

of Western Asia and as a result of acculturation later became the mount of the great Brahmanical goddess Durgā. As to the Agra coinage, the lion is present on some coins on an arched symbol, generally taken to be hill, standing to right. On some coins, again, like the bull lion is also portrayed in a rayed circle, which may be a proof of the sanctity attached to it. Lion appears, though not frequently, on other tribal coins such as those of the Mālavas and Rājanyas.

(*iv*) *Human Figure* : The human figure on a few Agra coins appears to be that of a female. Allan finds the presence of the stalk of a lotus in her hand (*CCBM*, p. 283) and from this he concludes that the figure is to be identified with the goddess Lakshmī. The lotus-stalk is not clear in the reproduction of the specimen in his *Catalogue.* Even if the figure is believed to have held the stalk of a lotus, this cannot be regarded as a sure ground for its identification with Lakshmī as the lotus is not a cognizance of Lakshmī alone.

The broad-hipped female figure on our coins recalls a similar type frequently represented in early Indian art. Particular reference may be made to the female figure shown on the well-known gold plaque unearthed at Lauriya-Nandangarh[59] taken as identical with the Vedic Earth goddess by Theodore Bloch. The plaque is now generally assigned to the Maurya or Śuṅga period.[60] The similarity between the figure represented on the Agra coins and that on the Lauriya-Nandangarh plaque, both being related to a proto-historic type, is so striking that the Agra figure may be regarded as a plastic representation of the primitive Earth goddess. In a broad sense, however, Lakshmī is but an aspect of the Earth goddess, *Kshamā*, mentioned in the *Śrī-sūkta* of the *Ṛigveda.* And in that sense the figure concerned may as well be regarded as a representation of Lakshmī.

From two specimens[61] found at Agroha it will be seen that there is a fifth device, besides the four discussed above. The device is that of a composite animal of two varieties : (*i*) bull's body with owl's head and (*ii*) bull's body with two heads, one of an elephant and the other of a lion as described by Srivastava. It has not been possible for us to examine the accuracy of Srivastava's description of the type as no photographic reproduction is available. If his description is correct, these coins will be of unique interest furnishing examples of the representation of composite animals, and in that way parallelisms with West Asiatic art where composite animals of different varieties are frequently met with. Among several such specimens belonging to West Asiatic repertory, mention may be made of, for example, one Assyrian sculpture,[62] which depicts an Assyrian deity as standing or floating above a composite beast with the head of a dragon, the front paws of a lion, eagle-talons on the hind feet and the tail of a scorpion. Plastic expressions of the idea of a composite animal are also not uncommon in Achaemenian art as is illustrated by an ibex-lion figure[63] composed of a lion's head, body and legs with wings and ibex-horns. It appears, therefore, that the idea of representing animals in composite forms may have come from the West and probably came through Achaemenian channel.

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[59] Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, pl. B. 3A.

[60] The burial mound which yielded this plaque was regarded by Bloch as a Vedic one. For an account of the burial mounds at Lauriya-Nandangarh unearthed by Bloch see *ASR*, 1906-07, p. 119f. Bloch assigned these mounds to the eighth or seventh century B. C., a dating which is no longer accepted. Modern dating of the mounds and the plaque found from one of them is in the Maurya or Śunga period, cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[61] There is a third specimen (No. 22 of Srivastava's 'Report'). But Srivastava does not give any detail of that coin.

AGRAS AS A POLITICAL ENTITY

The legend *Agāchajanapada* appearing on the coins of the Agras will show that the Agras were a *janapada* community like the Rājanyas, Śibis, Trigartas and Vemakas. If the reading of the legend *Agāchamitrapadabhishṭhāyināṁ* (or *-shṭhāyinaḥ*) as suggested by Barnett is accepted, it will be found that *janapada* has been replaced by *mitrapada*, a term hitherto unknown in ancient Indian polity. Barnett understands by the expression *Agāchamitrapada* 'the Allied State of the Aggacas' (i.e. Agras or Āgreyas), and the entire legend, a provisional one, occurring on the coin is interpreted by him as '(coin) of the rulers (or ruler) of the Allied State of the Aggachas'.

Now the question arises : why did the Aggas call themselves an 'Allied State' ? An answer to this question is given by Barnett himself. According to him,[64] "the Aggachas may have been admitted into the confederation which was under the hegemony of the Sālvas, for the river Yamunā, on the bank of which some of the Sālvas at one time dwelt, flows from north to south only some 70 miles due east from Barwala". Though there is no definite evidence to connect the Sālvas with the organisation, the idea of a confederacy seems to agree well with the available evidences, numismatic and literary, and their interpretations.

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[62] See *MSIAC*, fig. 10.

[63] A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, (1938), VII, Pl. 117A.

[64] *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

It is needless to repeat here these evidences which have been examined in detail in connection with sections dealing with the interpretations of the coin-legends and dating of the coins. A conjecture that there was a confederacy consisting of the Agras, Rājanyas, Vṛishṇis and the Malloi-Mālavas is not unlikely. And in that confederacy the position of the Agras was a dominant one as shown by the exclusive mention of their name in the coin-legend, *Agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyināṁ* (or *-shṭhāyinaḥ*). It seems that organisations like this were not uncommon in those days when tribes coalesced together for political reasons as will be evident from the case of the Yaudheyas in subsequent days. In the present case political necessity seems to have arisen when certain tribes found it difficult to fight single-handed against foreign rule in the Punjab in the second and first centuries B. C.[65]

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[65] P. L. Gupta points out that "while the coins having the word *janapada* mention the name of locality *Agrodaka*, to which the Āgreyas belonged, the others having the term *mitrapada* ignore the place-name", *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 200. This has led Gupta to suggest that the Āgreyas (Agras) "may have had some sort of alliance with some other tribes or groups", *ibid.* The omission of *Agrodaka* may be due to the lack of space.

CHAPTER 2

THE ĀRJUNĀYANAS

PRINSEP[1] was the first to discover a coin which turned out to be that of the Ārjunāyanas though he could not himself correctly read the name of the tribe issuing it. Subsequently some more coins of the tribe came to light. Cunningham[2] found a duplicate of the coin obtained by Prinsep. Both are now in the British Museum.[3] The cabinet of the Indian Museum has also two coins of the tribe.[4]

THE ANTIQUITY AND HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

The first definite mention of the Ārjunāyanas is to be found in the *Gaṇapāṭha*[5] of Pāṇini. The next reference is contained in the Allahabad pillar inscription[6] of Samudragupta. The said inscription mentions the Ārjunāyanas along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Prārjunas and others. Both the Ārjunāyanas and the Prārjunas, as their names indicate, may be believed to have been connected with Arjuna, the third Pāṇḍava.[7] According to the *Mahābhārata*,[8] the Yaudheyas descended from the eldest Pāṇḍava Yudhishṭhira. A similar tradition regarding the Pāṇḍava origin of the Ārjunāyanas may have existed. A close association of the Ārjunāyanas with the Yaudheyas is suggested in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[9] which places both the tribes in the same geographical division. The *Mahāmāyūrī*[10] states that a place called Arjunāvana is presided over by the tutelary *yaksha*, Arjuna. In the same work another epic character, Duryodhana, has been described as the tutelary deity of Srughna. Thus names of epic heroes are sometimes preserved in connection with names of important tribes and localities.

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[1] *PE*, II, p. 223, Pl. XLIV, No. 22.

[2] *CAI*, pp. 89-90, Pl. VIII, No. 20.

[3] *CCBM*, pp. lxxxii, 121, Nos. 1 and 2, Pl. XIV, Nos. 11 and 12. Also *RIC*, p. 11, Pl. III, 20 and *JRAS*, 1900, p. 106, Plate No. 6.

[4] *CCIM*, p. 166, Pl. XX, 10.

[5] IV. 2.53. Like the Audumbaras, the Ārjunāyanas are also included in the *Rājanyādi* class.

[6] *CII*, p. 8.

[7] If Fleet's view (*IA*, XIII, pp. 331, 349) that the Ārjunāyanas may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy settled in the Punjab is accepted, the Ārjunāyanas may be believed to have flourished in the second century A. D.

The connection of the name *Arjuna* with Central Asia on which much emphasis has been laid by Buddha Prakash (*PSMAP*, pp. 93-94, 98) may show that *Arjuna* was a familiar name in the region. But the evidence is not sufficient to support his view that Arjuna, the great *Mahābhārata* hero, originally belonged to Central Asia and later came to India. Of course, many things went to Central Asia from India and the name *Arjuna* may have been one of them.

[8] I. 95. 76. For details see later.

Definite mention of the Ārjunāyanas is found in two grammatical works, the *Chāndravyākaraṇa*[11] and the *Kāśikā*,[12] the former composed sometime in the sixth century A.D. while the latter in the seventh century A.D. Both these works apparently refer to the tribe which had to acknowledge the supremacy of Samudragupta in the fourth century A.D. The name of the Ārjunāyanas continued to be in use as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. as is shown by the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[13] and the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*.[14] The *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*[15] of the twelfth century refers to a river called Ārjuni which it identifies with the Bāhudā,[16] the name presumably having some connection with the Ārjunāyanas.

There is a name *Ārjuneya* in the *Ṛigveda*[17] which is found to have been used as the patronymic of Kautsa. No serious conclusion can be drawn from a mere similarity of names. It will be a pure speculation if an attempt is made to connect the Ārjunāyanas with the *Ṛigvedic* name, for the history of that tribe, as at present unknown, cannot be traced to a period earlier than the fourth or fifth century B.C. Relying on the reference to the Ārjunāyanas in the *Gaṇapāṭha*, we may reasonably conclude that the tribe may have existed at the time of the composition of that work, generally taken to be the fifth century B.C. by scholars.[18] Coins of the

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[9] XIV. 25. For other references to the tribe in the text see IV. 25; XI. 59; XVI. 22; XVII. 19.

[10] *JA*, 1915, pp. 36, 69. Also *JUPHS*, XV, pt. 2, pp. 27, 34-35.

[11] II. 4. 122. It refers to the Ārjunāyanas as belonging to the Bharatagotra.

[12] II. 4. 66. Like the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* the *Kāśikā* also describes the Ārjunāyanas as belonging to the Bharatagotra. It may be noted here that Patañjali does not mention our tribe.

[13] IV. 2. 86. The text belongs to the eleventh century A. D., see p. 4, fn. 24.

[14] IV. 266. Eggeling who has edited this work observes that in some of his manuscripts the name appears as *Arjunaphaṇa* while in one manuscript the name appears as *Ārjunāyana*. There is little doubt that *Arjunaphaṇa* is identical with *Ārjunāyana* (*Ārjunāyaṇa* is a mistake). [15] Bohtlingk's edition, p. 434.

[16] H. C. Raychaudhuri doubtfully identifies Bāhudā with Rāmgaṅgā, *PHAI*, p. 545, fn. 1. [17] I. 112. 23; IV. 26. 1; VII. 19. 2; VIII. 1. 11.

[18] For the date of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, see before, p. 3, fn. 12.

Ārjunāyanas, assignable to the first century B.C. (some scholars, however, favour a slightly late date, see later), prove that the tribe flourished in the early pre-Christian centuries. The reference to them in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta testifies to their existence as an autonomous state in the fourth century A.D. Although nothing is known about their history after Samudragupta's time, such late works as the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, *Chāndravyākaraṇa*, *Kāśikā*, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, etc. seem to show their acquaintance with the name of the tribe.

The evidence of findspots of the coins of the Ārjunāyanas throws light on the location of the tribe. Cunningham procured his specimens in Mathura. This may show that the Ārjunāyanas were not far from Mathura. A type of Ārjunāyana coins bears some relation to the coins of the Northern Satraps, which were current at Agra and Mathura.[19] From the Allahabad pillar inscription it appears that the Ārjunāyanas were neighbours of the tribes like the Mālavas and Yaudheyas. Hence the supposition that they occupied a territory between the Mālavas on the one hand and the Yaudheyas on the other appears to be justified. This led Cunningham[20] to suggest that "the Ārjunāyanas may have occupied some part of Rajputana, to the north of Mālava and to the south of Madradeśa or Madra." Allan[21] has placed the Ārjunāyanas within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.

The above location seems to be supported by the *Mahāmāyūrī* evidence also. This text refers to a place called Arjunāvana presided over by *yaksha* Arjuna preceded by another place named Srughna whose *yaksha* was Duryodhana. If Srughna is identified with Sugh on the west bank of the old Jumna, Arjunāvana is likely to have been situated in its neighbourhood. The location of Arjunāvana between East Punjab and the western part of Uttarapradesh agrees well with the supposed provenance of the coins of the Ārjunāyanas. The *Mahāmāyūrī* tradition of Arjuna being the presiding deity of Arjunāvana, combined with the possibility of its location in the region indicated above, leaves little room for doubt that the Arjunāvana was in the territory of the Ārjunāyanas who were connected with the Epic hero Arjuna as their name may suggest. In other words, the Arjunāvana mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* may be looked for in the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.

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[19] On the ground of this numismatic relationship, Smith locates their territory to the west of Agra and Mathura, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps, in the Bharatpur and Alwar States, *JRAS*, 1897, p. 886.

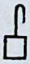
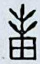
[20] *CAI*, p. 90.

[21] *CCBM*, p. lxxxiii.

Coins of the Ārjunāyanas

Coins of the Ārjunāyanas are few in number. All of them are made of copper and round in shape. Coins belonging to the British and the Indian Museums bear the representation of bull (sometimes humped) either on their obverse or on their reverse. Another animal, elephant, appears on a coin belonging to the Indian Museum. On a British Museum specimen a human figure appears. On the basis of these devices and symbols, the coins may be classified as noted below.

Class 1

Obverse : Standing figure, probably of a male,
between  and 
Legend in Brāhmī
Aj(u)nāyan—
Reverse : Bull standing to left probably on hill. (*CN 14*)

It is to be noted here that what Allan takes as reverse has been taken here as obverse,[22] for the side bearing the legend appears to be more important than the other side which is without any legend. The tree on the obverse by the side of the figure is described by Cunningham[23] as Bodhi tree. The Indian Museum has got a coin belonging to this class where the male figure is found to have his right hand raised. The legend on the coin is better preserved than that occurring on the British Museum specimen.

Class 2

Variety A

Obverse : Humped bull standing to the left facing a sacrificial altar within railing.
Legend in Brāhmī :
Arjunayanajaya(ḥ)
Reverse : Tree within railing to the right, elephant facing front with head right and trunk upraised. (*CN 15*)

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[22] Cunningham also does so, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

Variety **B**

Obverse : Humped bull standing to right facing a sacrificial altar.
Legend in Brāhmī :
Ajunāyan(ā)n(āṁ)jaya

Reverse : Traces of the upraised trunk of an elephant. (*CN 16*)

On the obverse of the coins of this class, as described before, appears a humped bull before a curved object, which has been identified by us with a sacrificial altar. Smith in his *Catalogue* failed to take note of the bull before the altar. The British Museum specimen marked as Variety *B* in the *Catalogue* of the same museum should actually be included in this class because close scrutiny of the coin reproduced in Pl. XIV. 11 reveals that the animal wrongly described as bull standing right before a tree in railing appears to be an elephant, the upraised trunk of which is visible in the reproduction. In other words, the British Museum specimen seems to belong to 'bull : elephant' type and differs from the Indian Museum piece in respect of the representation of the bull ; on the British Museum coin, the bull stands to right while on the Indian Museum piece, it stands to left ; and also the altar on the Indian Museum piece is within a railing, while no such altar is visible on the British Museum coin. Again, unlike on the Indian Museum coin, tree is not noticed on the British Museum piece. It is these differences which require the coins to be divided into two varieties.

It is to be noted further that unlike Allan we have taken the side of the coin bearing the legend as the obverse. The difference between the coins belonging to Class 1 and 2 lies also in the fact that while the legend is short on coins of Class 1, it is fuller on the coin of Class 2. As regards the coin belonging to the cabinet of the British Museum marked as Variety *C* in Allan's *Catalogue*, it is to be noted that it actually belongs to the Śibis and not to the Ārjunāyanas. This mistake has been corrected by Allan himself in the *introduction* to his *Catalogue* (p. cxxiii).

CHRONOLOGY AND METROLOGY OF THE COINS

Allan[24] assigns the coins of the Ārjunāyanas, on palaeographical grounds, to about 100 B. C. while Rapson[25] ascribes them to either the later part of the first century B.C. or the earlier part of the first century A.D. P. L. Gupta[26] suggests a much later date and observes that "the letters that survive show that they may be as late as 200 A.D." In support of his view he says: "The language of the coins is Sanskrit and the style is the same as the coins of Yaudheya and Mālava issued in the second-third centuries A.D. So the tribe may well be ascribed as contemporaneous with them." But no such assertion can be made about the date of these coins on the basis of palaeography. Some letters as used on the coins can be traced back to an earlier period[27] than suggested by Gupta. The language of the coin-legend which is Sanskrit and this style, however, offer some help in settling the question of date. Thus the *Ārjunāyanānāṁ jaya(ḥ)* is in every way similar to the legends *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ* and *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ* occurring on the coins of the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas respectively. The Mālava and the Yaudheya coins with these legends have been assigned by numismatists to a period between the second and the fourth centuries A.D. The legend *Rājña Kulūtasya Vīrayaśasya* appearing on the coins of the Kulūta may also be recalled in this connection. The British Museum specimen bearing this legend which is practically Sanskrit has been ascribed by Allan[28] to 'a date round about A.D. 100', on linguistic grounds. There is no reason why the same test should not be applied in the case of the Ārjunāyana coins also, for which some date round about 150 A.D. may be regarded as valid unless any evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. We do not have any currency of the Ārjunāyanas after this date though the tribe has a history going down to the fourth century A.D. as shown by the testimony of the Allahabad pillar inscription. As we shall discuss later, there is a suggestion that the Ārjunāyanas probably merged into a confederation. This may explain the absence of the coinage of the tribe during the period when the confederation may have been formed, though exceptional cases of other tribes issuing their separate coinages are known. What appears to our mind is that tribal peoples like the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, etc. took advantage of the weakness of the Kushāṇas after Huvishka whose date ranges from A.D. 106 to A.D. 142, in asserting their independence.

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[24] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

[25] *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 106-07.

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[26] *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 208.

[27] According to K. A. N. Sastri, "*the script clearly shows* that they established their independence during the later Śunga period", *CHIS*, p. 128. D. C. Sircar also assigns the Ārjunāyana coins, on palaeographical grounds, to the first century B. C., *AIU*, p. 163.

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. c.

The British Museum specimen bearing a standing figure, included here in Class 1, has a legend *Ajunayan-* which is shorter than the other legend *Ajunāyanāṇāṁ jaya(ḥ)* appearing on coins included here in Class 2. The difference between these two classes of coins lies not only in the nature of the legend but also in the devices and symbols borne by them. These considerations relating to the legend and the devices and symbols may lead to the inference that there is a difference of time between these two classes of coins. It may be suggested that the coins with the fragmentary legend are earlier than those with a complete legend.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

As to the metrology of the coins, it may be noted that the two British Museum specimens weigh 81 and 53 grains while the Indian Museum specimens weigh 61·3 and 14·8 grains. If they followed the Indian *paṇa* standard, they used such denominations of it as suited their special needs which are otherwise unknown. No practical suggestion as to the weight-system followed by the Ārjunāyanas in their metallic currency is possible specially in view of the very limited number of coins so far discovered and the marked deterioration suffered by them.

INTERPRETATION OF THE DEVICES AND SYMBOLS

Motifs occurring on the Ārjunāyana coins are few in number. They are: (*i*) standing human figure, (*ii*) bull usually standing before an altar, (*iii*) elephant, (*iv*) tree within railing and (*v*) an object described by Allan[29] as a *liṅgam.* The first four motifs being prominent may be described as devices. The so-called *liṅgam* may be treated as a symbol. The devices are explained below.

(*i*) *Human figure*: The human figure appearing on some coins of the Ārjunāyanas included here in Class 1 has been taken by Allan[30] as a female one and has been identified with Lakshmī. A similar figure appears on some coins of Mathura (*CCBM*, p. 17 f). The figure on the British Museum specimen being not distinct, it is difficult to say whether it is a male or a female. It stands between a *liṅgam* and a tree. The figure on the Indian Museum coin has been taken by Smith[31] as that of a male. On the

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxii.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *CCIM*, p. 166, No. 1.

Indian Museum specimen the figure is further found to have the right hand raised (provided Smith's explanation is taken to be correct). The figure, whether a male or a female, may represent a deity worshipped by the Ārjunāyanas.

(*ii*) *Bull before a sacrificial altar*: On the Ārjunāyana coins the bull usually appears before a curved object which is identified by Allan with a *liṅgam*. But the object appears to be a sacrificial altar.[82] A comparison of this object with a similar one on the reverse of a Kanauj coin (*CCBM*, p. 147, pl. XIX, 13) may lead us to suppose that the object in both cases is nothing but a sacrificial post. And as to the reverse of the Kanauj coin, Allan[83] observes: "The reverse has a horse apparently before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*) and may commemorate an aśvamedha sacrifice." On the analogy of the Kanauj coin, therefore, we may explain the object before the bull as a sacrificial altar. And if it be so, we may explain the 'bull before the *yūpa*' device as representing the *śūlagava* sacrifice (sacrifice of the bull) mentioned in the *Gṛihyasūtras*,[84] according to which the sacrifice in question bestows heavenly rewards, cattle, sons, long life and renown on the sacrificer. In this connection, *Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ*, i.e. 'victory to the Ārjunāyanas', seems to be significant, although particular stress cannot be laid on this point since *jayaḥ* (a victory) does not occur on a class of Yaudheya coins (*CCBM*, pp. 267-68) bearing curved objects of similar character.

(*iii*) *Elephant*: The elephant on the Ārjunāyana coins appears with its trunk upraised. It also occurs on a number of other ancient Indian coins (e.g. coins of the Audumbaras, Kāḍa coins, coins of Bṛihaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbi series, etc.). The head of the elephant on the Ārjunāyana coins resembles the one shown on the obverse of a coin of the Śaka king Maues (*CCIM*, p. 40, pl. VIII, 4).

Elephant is found to have been associated with Indian life from very early times. It appears to have been domesticated by the Harappa people as is indicated by their seals.[85] With the passage of time the animal came to be regarded as an auspicious animal In the Vedas it appears as a symbol of royal splendour and later, theriomorphically, as the god Indra. And the symbolism, in the words of Coomaraswamy,[86] 'survives in Gaṇesha, and the Buddha is more than once still called an elephant'. In Buddhist art and mythology

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[82] *DHI*, p. 109.

[83] *Op. cit.*, p. xciv.

[84] For an account of the sacrifice, see *IVKS*, pp. 431-36.

[85] Stuart Piggot, *Prehistoric India*, p. 157.

[86] See *MSIAC*, p. 103, fn.

Buddha is represented as having entered into the womb of his mother in the form of a white elephant.[37] In Hindu mythology and art too, elephant is regarded as a symbol of majesty as well as fortune. The representation of Lakshmī being consecrated by two elephants on her two sides is a common theme in Indian art.[38] And as has been said above, the animal is associated with the Hindu god Gaṇeśa, the god being endowed with the head of the elephant. In a comparatively late Hindu mythology, the earth is believed to have been supported by eight elephants. In recent times also, elephants are venerated by the Indians. As for instance, touching an elephant is regarded as a chastity test and the hairs of its tail serves as amulet.[39] The representation of the elephant on the coins of the Ārjunāyanas thus may show that the tribe shared the age-old common Indian respect for this particular animal.

Not only in India, but in old beliefs and customs of peoples of other countries[40] as well, the elephant, specially of the white variety, occupies an important position. For instance, in Siam white elephant is believed to contain the soul of dead person, perhaps a Buddha ; in Cambodia, it is held to bring luck to the kingdom and in Sumatra, it is regarded as a tutelary spirit.

(*iv*) The tree-in-railing device is commonly found on ancient Indian coins. A discussion on its character and significance has been made in the previous chapter relating to the Agra coinage. The symbol described as a curved object has been taken by Allan as a *liṅgam*, but as has already been said, the symbol should be identified with a *yūpa* and the bull before it may be regarded as the animal meant for sacrifice. As regards the representation of bull on the Ārjunāyana coinage, it may be noted, that in one case Rapson[41] describes the animal as a camel with some doubt, though he appears to hold that it may be a humped bull as well.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE ĀRJUNĀYANAS

Not much is known about the early history of the Ārjunāyanas. In about the middle of the fourth century A.D., as the Allahabad pillar inscription[42] states, the Ārjunāyanas along with the Mālavas, Yaudheyas and others fully gratified the imperious commands of Samudragupta "by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance" (*sarvva-kara-dān-ājñākaraṇa-praṇām-āgamana-paritoshita-prachaṇḍa-śāsana*). Thus the tribal republics like the Ārjunāyanas were evidently unable to preserve and enjoy complete independence when Samudragupta was spreading the tentacles of his imperialism over the North. It may be conjectured that the Ārjunāyanas and their neighbours remained under the subjection of the Kushāṇas during the time of Kanishka and Huvishka and also probably of Vima. With the decline of the Kushāṇa power they asserted their independence and extended their influence. This seems to have been echoed in their coin-legends indicative of their martial triumphs (*jayaḥ*) over some enemies. The enemies, most probably the Kushāṇas, were ousted from power by constant attacks (and perhaps simultaneous attacks) of Indian peoples like the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Ārjunāyanas all of whom, it is interesting to note, issued coins with legends ending with the word *jayaḥ*. If these peoples were not directly responsible for the downfall of the Kushāṇas, there seems to be little doubt that they accelerated it. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Ārjunāyanas and other allied tribes of India were in power sometime between the middle of the second century A.D. and the middle of the fourth century A.D.

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[37] For a sculptural version of this legend, see Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 31d.

[38] Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Pl. 260b. Also *DHI*, Pl. XVIII, 2.

[39] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, II, p. 240.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 106.

Before the coming of the Kushāṇas to power, some tribes in the Punjab and in Rajputana, such as the Audumbaras, Śibis, Uddehikas, Vemakas and others appear to have held independent principalities as testified to by a fair number of coins issued by them. The existence of such tribal principalities is also attested by literature. Though we have no definite proof about an Ārjunāyana territory in the period extending from the fall of the Mauryas (c.187 B.C.) to the first century A.D., the history of the tribe does not go entirely unrepresented, if the *Gaṇapāṭha* evidence is to be related to this period. The absence of the Ārjunāyana coinage definitely assignable to this age perhaps may be accounted for by the fact that they were less important than the Audumbaras, Śibis, Uddehikas and others. Alternatively it may be suggested that the Ārjunāyanas suffered reverses at the hands of the Śakas,[43] as a result of which they had to close their currency, if they had any. The fact that no coins definitely attributable to the Ārjunāyanas in the pre-Christian centuries have so far been discovered is not, however, enough to prove that the tribe did not exist at the time. Hence the supposition of Jayaswal[44] that the Ārjunāyanas as a political community emerged 'about the Śunga times (200 B.C.)' may not be far from the truth.

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[42] *Loc. cit.*

[43] The fact that a type of Ārjunāyana coins bears some relation to the coins of the Northern Satraps which were current at Agra and Mathura may be recalled in this connection. This numismatic relationship may suggest that the Saka Satraps were influenced, to a certain extent, by the Ārjunāyanas in their

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monetary issues, provided that an assumption is made that the Ārjunāyanas were defeated by the Śakas. If the Ārjunāyana coinage is assigned to the second century A. D., as we have done, it is to be held that the Śaka coinage influenced, to some extent, that of the Ārjunāyanas.

[44] *HP*, p. 148.

CHAPTER 3

THE AŚVAKAS

A FEW coins with the legend *Vaṭasvaka* were collected by Cunningham[1] in the neighbourhood of Taxila. He included them among the coins of Taxila. The coins are of the single-die variety and the legend written perpendiculary in early Brāhmī characters is found by the side of the devices sunk into the stamped side. Both Bühler[2] and Smith[3] are inclined to take the legend *Vaṭasvaka* as a tribal name. Though *Vaṭasvaka* as the name of a tribe is unknown to literature, the appellation *Aśvaka* and its probable variants are not unfamiliar. We may detect, therefore, in *Vaṭasvaka* a reference to the Aśvakas of Indian literature and the Assakenoi of the Classical literature. Before we discuss the antiquity and habitat of the Aśvakas, we may for the sake of convenience describe their coins first.

Coins of the Aśvakas are few in number. Made of copper, they may be described thus :

The so-called pile of 'balls'[4] and above, a *chaitya* topped by a crescent, to right a robed human figure with an upraised arm in an attitude of worship with a taurine symbol below. To left legend in Brāhmī, *Vaṭasvaka.* (*CN 17-18*)

MEANING OF THE LEGEND

Bühler[5] sanskritizes the legend *Vaṭasvaka* as *Vaṭāsvakāḥ* and thus takes it to be a nominative plural. He interprets it as 'the Aśvaka tribe of the Vaṭa or fig-tree clan'. The use of a nominative plural in this case may be quite probable being in line with the Prakrit of the north-west as used in the Shahbazgarhi recension of the Edicts of Aśoka. Though Smith[6] accepts Bühler's interpretation, it has been objected to by Allan[7] on the ground "that we should expect a genitive plural in a coin-legend". Allan,[8] therefore, says that it is "better to take *Vaṭasvaka* as singular" and as a place-name. The name seems to preserve the memory of the Aśvakas, the Assakenoi of the Greeks, whose territory was at least "near enough to be in close commercial relation with" Taxila.

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[1] *CAI*, p. 61, Pl. II, 17.

[2] *Indian Studies*, III, p. 46.

[3] *CCIM*, p. 157.

[4] Cunningham writes 'pile of bales in his description, which is apparently a printing mistake.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

But the word *vaṭa* is not used in the exclusive sense of a 'fig-tree'. Cunningham[9] shows that "*Vaṭa* is one of the names of a cowree shell, and as the coin is a *paṇa* of 145 grains, or 80 shells in value, it may, perhaps, have some reference to the number 80, 'asiti'." The word *vaṭa* also means 'round' and may, therefore, refer to the shape of the coin, in which case, *swaka* or *suka* would be the name of the piece, 'the round *suka*'. S. K. Chakrabortty[10] takes *vaṭa* to mean a cowry shell and not 'round' (in the present case 'the round *suka*'). As the use of cowry as a medium of exchange is known, the word *vaṭa* is to be understood to be a coin so that the legend may be interpreted as meaning *Aśvakānāṁ Vaṭaḥ* = *Vaṭāśvakaḥ* (according to Pāṇini, II. 2. 31), i.e. 'the coin of the Aśvakas.'

Allan's objection to the interpretation proposed by Bühler does not raise a serious difficulty since an exceptional instance of the use of a tribal name on coins without any genitive suffix may be available in *Udehaki*, if this word is regarded as referring to the tribe called the Uddehikas. As to Chakrabortty's[11] objection that there is no reference either in the writings of the Greeks or in Sanskrit literature of the *vaṭa* (fig-tree) clan of the Aśvakas, it may be pointed out that such an argument involves the fallacy of *argumentum ex silentio.* In fact, we have seen that the derivation of tribal names from trees is not uncommon. A tribe connected with *vaṭa* as its totem may have existed like those bearing the names of trees such as the Aśvatthas (cf. Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 3, *Gauragrīv' oddehika-Pāṇdu-Guḍ-Āśvattha-Pañchālāḥ*) and the Udumbaras (see later). The absence of the representation of a tree on the Vaṭasvaka coins is not an insuperable difficulty inasmuch as the use of a tree as motif is commonly found on a large number of ancient Indian coins. It is not necessary that the Aśvakas should have depicted the tree which they worshipped as a totem on their coins. As to Chakrabortty's interpretation, it may be pointed out that we have no instance in early Indian numismatics where the issuers are found to have put the name of a coin-denomination on their coins. Thus there seems to be no serious difficulty in accepting Bühler's interpretation that the word *Vaṭasvaka* means 'the Aśvaka tribe of the *vaṭa* or fig-tree clan'.

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[7] *Op. cit.*, p. cxlvii.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *CAI*, pp. 61-62.

[10] *AIN*, p. 157. Also *NS*, XLVI, p. 70.

[11] *Ibid.*

ALLEGED AŚVAKA COINS

Some coins bearing the representation of a human figure[12] standing between two piles of balls on both sides have been found at Taxila (*CAI*, pl. II, 14 ; *CCBM*, p. 221, pl. XXXII, 5, 6). The type resembles to some extent the Aśvaka type. There are differences which are no less important than the points of agreement. In the first place, the three-arched object (possibly *chaitya*) with a crescent on top is entirely absent on these uninscribed Taxila coins. Then again, there is only one pile of balls on the Aśvaka coins instead of two and its position in the grouping of symbols is also different as it is placed below the *chaitya* on the left of the human figure. In the third place, the taurine symbol is not present on the Taxila coins. Further, the human figure on the Taxila coins carries a weapon-like object in right hand while the Aśvaka coins show the figure without any such object. Difference also lies in the posture of the figure on the two types of coins. Over the pile of balls on the left there is a combination of three upward lines joined to the topmost ball. This feature is not seen on Aśvaka coins. In spite of these differences, the similarity cannot be entirely overlooked. The Aśvaka coins were influenced by a model as shown by the common features shared by them with the uninscribed Taxila coins. It may be going too far to suggest that the uninscribed coins were also issued by the Aśvaka tribe, as the link between the two is not strong enough to justify this supposition. Allan[13] suggests a possibility for such a connection but he is far from definite on this point.

Another class of rectangular uninscribed coins of three varieties—(*a*) the pile of balls to right and the three-arched *chaitya* surmounted by crescent to left, a *svastika* above and an undulating line below, all in incuse; (*b*) the usual pile of balls to left and the three-arched *chaitya* surmounted by a crescent to right, below them an undulating line and again below that line two symbols each made of curved lines; (*c*) three-arched *chaitya*-with-crescent to right, pile of balls with three upward lines to left with a human figure in between the *chaitya* and the pile of balls in a worshipful attitude,—have been found at Taxila.[14] Some scholars[15] are inclined to class these coins with the *Vaṭasvaka* pieces. In these three varieties the connecting link with the Aśvaka coins is supplied by the three-arched *chaitya* surmounted by crescent. A further link exists between Variety C and the Aśvaka coins in the presence of the human figure on both. But such links are not enough to class these coins with the Aśvaka pieces. The ascription of these coins also to the Aśvakas thus remains doubtful as in the other case noted above.

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[12] Allan takes this figure as female and thinks that she appears on the reverse of another group of Taxila coins with the legend *Kadare-nekame* in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse, *op. cit.*, cxxvii.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. cxlvi.

SYMBOLS ON THE AŚVAKA COINS

The Aśvaka coins show a combination of symbols: (*i*) a three-arched object with crescent on top, (*ii*) a standing human figure, (*iii*) a pile of balls under (*i*), and (*iv*) a taurine symbol below the human figure. These different objects may be discussed as follows:

(*i*) *Three-arched object*: This object has not been definitely identified by scholars. It has been described as *stūpa* by W. Theobald,[16] as *chaitya* by Smith[17] and as hill by S. K. Chakrabortty.[18]

Not only on coins but also on several objects of varied nature this symbol makes its appearance. Its antiquity is disclosed by the fact that it is found on some potteries unearthed by the late H. Hargreaves[19] in the course of excavations in the mounds at Nal. A similar motif consisting of rows of semi-circular curves surmounted by a standing female deity which may be supposed to depict a mountain has been met with on a seal of late Minoan style found at Knossos.[20]

If the three-arched object is one of remote antiquity, being not confined to India alone, the theory[21] that its uses are peculiar to the Mauryas is not justified. Recently this theory has been further developed by F. R. Allchin.[22] Pointing to the ubiquity of the three-arched object surmounted by crescent on a number of remains of the Mauryan period such as the Rampurva copper bolt, the Kumrahar pillar base, some bowls found at Patna, Soghaura copper-plate inscription, an inscribed copper band discovered at Patna, etc. as well as on a class of debased silver punch-marked coins found at Taxila of a presumably Maurya date, Allchin considers the object to have been a mark of a far-reaching authority, extending at least from Patna to Taxila, such as that exercised by the Maurya dynasty. In support of this theory Allchin further points out that the cast copper and the debased silver punch-marked coins bearing this particular motif appear together in stratified excavations and invariably along with the NBP ware and that they may be regarded as corresponding respectively to coins classified in the *Arthaśāstra* as *tāmrarūpa* (alloyed copper) and *rūpyārūpa* (debased silver). On these grounds, Allchin concludes that "the hill-with-crescent appears to have been the specific invention of either Chandragupta or Aśoka and has every right to be regarded as a 'hall-mark' originating in the Mauryan period".

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[14] For Variety *a*, *CAI*, Pl. II, ii; *CCIM*, p. 156, No. 5; for Variety b, *CAI*, Pl. II, 9; *CCIM*, p. 156, No. 4; for Variety c, *CAI*, Pl. II, 14; *CCIM*, p. 156, Nos. 9, 10.

[15] S. K. Chakrabortty, *op. cit.*, p. 157; p. 70.

[16] *JASB*, 1890, pp. 194-95.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 156f.

[18] *Op. cit.*, pp. 157-58; p. 70.

[19] *MASI*, 40, Pl. XVII, No. 42.

[20] *JBORS*, XX, Pt. 2, p. 179.

[21] K. P. Jayaswal (see *EI*, XXII, p. 3) and Durga Prasad (see *NS*, XLVII, p. 61) took the so-called chaitya with crescent as connected with the Maurya dynasty.

As it has already been stated above, the motif concerned is known to have been current in India long before the advent of the Mauryas. There is no definite evidence to show that it is an exclusively Indian one. Manifestly, the three-arched object with crescent appears to have been regarded as an auspicious motif in and outside India. Variants of this motif, with or without crescent, are found on a variety of ancient Indian coins. The ubiquity of this object hence should not be regarded as 'the specific invention of either Candragupta or Aśoka', as Allchin wants us believe. It may, however, be said that this particular motif which had been already in existence was popularised by the Mauryas and was probably adopted by them as a 'hall-mark', i.e. *rājāṅka* or *narendrāṅka*, to use the words of Kauṭilya.

As regards other symbols of the combination, the standing human figure deserves attention. It is depicted in a worshipful attitude. In this attitude Allan[23] notices 'something Mithraic'. A similar figure appears on a class of coins found at Taxila (*CCBM*, p. 221, Pl. XXXII, 5, 6), though it is depicted frontally and between the so-called pile of balls and a three-arched object. Though Allan[24] is inclined to take the figure as that of a female and further goes on to describe it as 'a city goddess', nothing definite can be said as to the character or identification of the figure. On our coins the figure seems to be in a worshipful attitude. The third symbol, the pile of balls,[25] appears on the Aśvaka coinage under the arched object and this position is specially noteworthy. The taurine symbol[26] commonly associated with the three-arched object surmounted by a crescent on a variety of objects belonging to the Maurya period such as Rampurva copper bolt, Kumrahar pillar base, Patna copper band, etc. makes its appearance on the coins of the Aśvakas under the feet of the human figure.

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[22] *BSOAS*, XXII, p. 548f.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. cxlvi.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. cxxvii, cxlvi. Allan describes such figures appearing on Taxila coins as representing 'the city goddess of Taxila'. In support of the supposition he cites 'a parallel in the figure of the patron divinity of the city of Puṣkalāvatī'.

All these symbols, noted above, constitute a type. The explanation of the type seems to lie in the combination of the human figure in a worshipful attitude, the three-arched object and the pile of balls. If the three-arched object is a *chaitya*, as we have suggested above, the human figure may be regarded as worshipping the *chaitya*. Actually the custom of *chaitya-yajña* is alluded to in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra.*[27] The worship of the *chaitya* is also referred to by Kauṭilya under the expression *chaitya-pūjā.*[28] It may be reasonable, therefore, to explain the device composed of the *chaitya* and the worshipful figure as illustrating the *chaitya-yajña* or *chaitya-pūjā*. The pile of balls below the *chaitya* may be taken as representing *piṇḍas* (balls) of food which the *chaitya* worshipper has to offer to the *chaitya* as a mark of devotion. The view of Allan[29] that the human figure and the *chaitya* are to be taken as separate, cannot be accepted as both are parts of a common theme.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

The six coins in the collection of the British Museum having the legend *Vaṭasvaka* weigh between 135·0 and 144·0 grains while the

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[25] S. K. Chakrabortty takes this symbol as a variety of the 'hill' symbol, *AIN*, pp. 157-58 ; *NS*, XLVI, p. 70.

[26] D. B. Spooner explains the taurine symbol as an emblem of the Persians, which was in the form of a bull's head, *JRAS*, 1915, p. 412.

[27] I. 12. 1. The *Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra* (III. 11. 10-11) refers to a similar *yajña* though it does not mention it under the name of *chaitya-yajña*. For an account of *chaitya-yajña* in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, see *IVKS*, p. 424f. And for a discussion on the origin and early history of the *chaityas* see *IHQ*, XIV, p. 440f.

[28] *Arthaśāstra*, IV. 3. Kauṭilya refers to *chaityas* as houses of gods (*ibid.*, I. 20 ; XII. 5) and says that people used to offer *pūjā* to the *chaityas* in order to avert the evil attacks of demons.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. cxlvi.

Indian Museum specimen bearing the same legend has a weight of 146·4 grains. It is thus proved that the coins issued by the tribe conforms to the indigenous *paṇa* standard.

Period of the Coins

The Brāhmī characters of the inscription *Vaṭasvaka* borne by the present coins have been assigned by Allan[80] to the early second century B. C. Pointing out the similarity of the Vaṭasvaka coins with the copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, Rapson[81] suggests that the date of such coins "is probably at least as early as 200 B. C.," while Smith[82] is of the opinion that the characters of the inscription are of the third century B. C. The coins may be assigned to the period beginning from the third century B. C. to about the middle of the second century B. C.

Antiquity and Habitat of the Tribe

The name of the tribe *Aśvaka* invariably reminds us of the *Assakenoi* of the Classical writers. Credit goes to Lassen[83] for identifying the *Aśvakas* of Indian literature with the *Assakenoi* of the Classical accounts. Turning to Indian literature, we find a name *Aśmaka* besides *Aśvaka.* The question that confronts us now is whether *Aśmaka* is identical with *Aśvaka.* The name *Aśmaka* finds mention in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*[84] in connection with Dākshiṇātya and Kaliṅga and hence the antiquity of the name may be traced back surely to his time, i.e. the fifth century B. C., if not earlier still. In Prakrit the name of a *janapada,* evidently derived from the name of the *jana* i.e. tribe, appears in the form of *Assaka.* In the list of sixteen great countries (*solasa-mahājanapada*) to be found in the early Buddhist texts, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[85] and the *Mahāvastu,*[86] Assaka figures as a *mahājanapada* on the banks of the Godāvarī and its capital was, according to another Buddhist text, *Mahāgovinda Suttanta,*[87] Potana. Potana (or Potali according to a *Jātaka,* cf. Cowell's edition, III, p. 2) probably corresponds to Paudanya of the *Mahābhārata.* Potana or Potali is generally taken as identical with Sanskrit Pratishṭhāna, modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. Aśmaka has been identified by Bhaṭṭasvāmin, a commentator on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* with Mahārāshṭra. The Nasik record of queen Gautamī Balaśrī[38] and an Ajanta inscription[39] also refer to Asaka (Aśmaka or Aśvaka country) and Aśmaka respectively. Aśmaka generally appears in conjunction with another country, Mūlaka and the latter also had the same capital Patiṭṭhāna (Sanskrit Pratishṭhāna) or modern Paithan. According to D. R. Bhandarkar,[40] Aśmaka country, as it appears from its wide extent known from early Pāli literature, included the little Mūlaka state and abutted on Avanti.

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[80] *Ibid.* [81] *RIC,* p. 14. [82] *Op. cit.,* p. 157.

[83] *Indische Altertumskunde,* I, note 6 ; II, p. 129.

[84] IV. 2. 98 ; IV. 1. 170. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* drops the name in the list of peoples under the *naḍādi* class.

[85] I. 213 ; IV. 252, 256, 260.

[86] I. 34 ; II. 3.

[87] *SBE,* III, p. 270.

Whatever may be the exact location of the Aśmakas, the phonetical proximity between the names *Assaka, Aśmaka* and *Aśvaka* is interesting. This perhaps leads Mark Collins[41] to surmise that the forms *Aśmaka* and *Aśvaka* owe their origin to the divergent sanskritization of the Prakrit *Assaka.* Rhys Davids[42] also holds that *Aśmaka* and *Aśvaka* would be *Assaka* both in the local vernacular and in Pāli. The designation used in the coin-legend is *Asvaka* and all such coins have been discovered in the Taxila region, while the name *Aśmaka* is unfamiliar to numismatic sources. No coins of the Aśmakas have been discovered so far.

The equation of *Aśmaka* with *Aśvaka* may be probable, but it must be noted that the two words differ in their meaning. *Aśmaka* etymologically means 'stony region', but *Aśvaka* seems to be derived from *Aśva,* a horse, signifying 'cavalier', indicating that the land where they lived was famous for horse-breeding. Interestingly enough, some connection between the people living in the Swat valley, probably identical with the Aśvakas of the coins, and the horse, is shown by recent archaeological discoveries made in the Saidu Sharif (Swat state) region by Italian Archaeological Mission. Their excavations, as we learn from C. Silvi Antonini and G. Tucci, have brought to light tombs of two horses at a place called Katelai[43] and the horse-shaped handle of a funeral urn at another place called Loe Ban.[44] From these remains it may be possible to hold the view that the animal was respected as a totem by the local people.

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[38] *EI*, VIII, p. 71f.

[39] Burgess, J., *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, London, 1883, pp. 134-35.

[40] *CL*, pp. 53-54. [41] *GDRD*, p. 7.

[42] *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

[43] *East and West* (New Series), XIV, 1-2, pp. 16-17, 27-28.

[44] *Ibid.*

Both *Aśmaka* and *Aśvaka* are found as the variants of the same name in the *Mahābhārata*.[45] They stand for a tribe who lived in the north-west. The *Padmapurāṇa*[46] also locates the Aśmakas in the north (*Aśmakāḥ sottaraśchaiva*). Same is the information about the tribe supplied by the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[47]; according to it *Aśmaka* refers to a country and the people of it and it was situated in the north-west division.

The foregoing discussion establishes two points: first, there was an Aśvaka country (sometimes variantly known as Aśmaka) in the north-western regions of India as known from the *Mahābhārata, Padmapurāṇa* and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*; and second, a country named Aśmaka (*Assaka* in Pāli) lay in South India probably on the Godāvarī as known from the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, Pāli texts like the *Aṅguttara Nikāya, Mahāvastu, Mahāgovinda Suttanta* and the Nasik record and an Ajanta inscription. Since the Pāli form *Assaka* may stand for both *Aśmaka* and *Aśvaka*, the equation between Aśmaka and Aśvaka does not seem to lie beyond the range of possibility. At least some sort of connection between the Aśmaka-Aśvakas of the north-west and the homonymous tribe of the south (associated with the Mūlakas of Patiṭṭhāna and Avanti) may be conjectured.

The identity of the Aśvakas of the north-west mentioned in the Indian literature with the Assakenoi (variantly [illegible] Assakanoi) seems, however, to be certain. The name of th[illegible] is met with in connection with Alexander's triumphant march to India. From the Classical writers[48] we come to learn that Alexander advanced with his shield-bearing guards, the archers, the Agrianians and the horse-javelin-men, into the land of the Aspasians, Guraeans and Assakenians (i.e. Assakenoi). The Aspasians were the first to bear the brunt of Alexander's invasion. Next came the turn of the Guraeans who were also defeated by the Macedonian hero. Thereafter Alexander marched against the Assakenians and besieged their chief city, Massaga. The Assakenians offered a stubborn resistance to Alexander but eventually had to bow before him. The Classical writers have described Alexander's fight with the Assakenians in some details. Geographically what is of importance to note here is that the Assakenians were separated from the Aspasians by the territory of the Guraeans. The Aspasians and the Assakenians may be believed to have been ethnically connected since their names are identical in meaning, the Iranian *aśpa* of Aspasians being the same as Sanskrit *aśva* which is at the root of the Indian name *Aśvaka* and the Classical *Assakenoi* i.e. Assakenians. The Guraeans, whose territory was situated between those of the Aspasians and the Assakenians, derived their name from the river of their land, viz. the Gaurī which is identified with the Panjkora, a tributary of the Swat. The Guraeans have been identified by some with the Guruhas of the Indian literature.[49]

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[45] Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 77; also *TAI*, p. 180.

[46] III. 40.

[47] XIV. 22. The miscellaneous references, V. 39, 73, 74; IX, 18, 27; XVI, 11; XXXII, 15. The lord of Aśmaka mentioned in XI, 54, 55, and XVII. 15.

[48] *CAIR*, pp. 7-12, 214-15, 257. Arrian in his *Indika* refers to Astakenoi instead of Aspasioi, the latter name occurring in his *Anabasis*. Strabo seems to have transcribed the name of the Assakenoi or the Assakenians more correctly as Assakanoi, which is very close to Indian Aśvakas. Massaga, the chief city of the Assakenoi, appears as Mesoga in Strabo's work.

As it is stated that Alexander entered the territory of the Assakenians after crossing the river Guraeus (equal to Panjkora), the Assakenian realm must have been to the other side of the above river. Aurel Stein[50] is of the opinion that the Swat valley, including Buner and the valleys to the north of the latter, represents the site of the dominion of the Assakenians. The exact location of Massaga, the citadel of the tribe, is difficult to be determined but Stein [illegible] looked for the city further down in Swat. Massaga is reminiscent of the *Maśakāvatī* of Pāṇini and the *Mashanagar* of Babar. Tucci[51] holds that Massaga of the Classical literature must have lain somewhere near Chakdarra in the Swat region. Alexander [illegible] captured another stronghold, Aornos, which is identified by Stein[52] with the old remains at Pir-Sar in the Swat valley. Though some doubts may remain as to the identifications of Massaga and Aornos, proposed by different scholars, it seems to be certain that the Assakenoi-Aśvakas lived in the Swat valley in the time of Alexander.[53] But as their coins have been discovered at Taxila it is likely that subsequently they shifted from the Swat region and settled in the area which has yielded their monetary issues.

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[49] S. B. Chaudhuri, *ESAI*, p. 52.

[50] *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, p. 43.

[51] *East and West* (New series), XIV, 1-2, p. 27. Holdich connects Massaga with a place called Matkanai near the Malakand Pass situated on the south bank of the Swat, *Gates of India*, p. 105 and map facing p. 94.

[52] *Op. cit.*, pp. 118, 119, 143-48.

[53] The Assakenoi (Aśvaka) country seems to have been "encompassed by the Swat on the north, the Landai on the west and the Kabul on the south", see *ESAI*, p. 52.

CHAPTER 4

THE AUDUMBARAS

THE AUDUMBARAS, also known as the Udumbaras or Odumbaras, were one of the most prominent tribes of ancient India, whose coins have been discovered by archaeologists. Cunningham[1] found six of their coins at Pathankot in the Gurudaspur district in North Punjab along with those of Zoilus, Gondophares, Kanishka and Huvishka. Subsequently a large number of coins of this tribe were discovered at Irippal in the district of Kangra in North Punjab.[2] Besides these, stray coins to be attributed to them have been recovered from other places in North Punjab.[3] On the basis of the provenances of their coins, Allan[4] has located the Audumbaras in the area formed by "the valley of the Beas or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi."

ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIBE

Numismatic considerations tend to place the Audumbaras in the period extending from the second century B. C. to the first century A. D. But literary references to the tribe indicate that they flourished long before the second century B. C. The earliest reference to them is found in the *Gaṇapāṭha*[5] of Pāṇini where they have been placed under the *Rājanya* class of peoples. Besides the *Gaṇapāṭha* there are other ancient Indian literary texts such as the *Mahābhāshya*,[6] *Mahābhārata*,[7] *Harivaṁśa*,[8] *Purāṇas*,[9] *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*,[10] *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa*,[11] *Kāśikā*,[12] *Sarasavatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*,[13] *Vaijayantī*[14] and *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*[15] which contain references to the Audumbaras. Pliny[16] also appears to have mentioned them under the name

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[1] *CASR*, XIV, pp. 115-17.

[2] *NS*, XXIII, p. 247f.

[3] *CCIM*, pp. 160-61. Smith says: "I learn from M. Rawlins that Odumbara coins of Bhānumitra are 'quite common' at the foot of Manaswal plateau, Hoshiarpur district." Thus the districts of Gurudaspur, Kangra and Hoshiarpur in the Punjab comprised the habitat of the tribe. Elsewhere he says: "Their coins come chiefly, if not exclusively, from the Kangra district in the Punjab", *ibid.*, p. 100.

[4] *CCBM*, p. lxxxvii.

[5] *Rājanyādibhyo buñ*: IV. 2. 53. With reference to this rule, a list of words has been given in the *Gaṇapāṭha*. These words referring to peoples have been classed under the 'Rajanyās' and the Udumbaras were one of them. They have been placed by the *Gaṇapāṭha* near the people of Jullundur *(Jālamdharāyana)*. *Udumbara* also occurs under the *naḍādi* class (IV. 1. 99). It appears therein along with the Agras, the Yugandharas, the Pañchālas, etc.

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[6] *Ṇyakshatriyārshañito yūni lugṇiñoh*: II. 4. 58. On this Paninian rule Kātyāyana says: *Aṇiñorluki tadrājādyurpratyayasyopasaṁkhyānam* and this is further explained by Patañjali thus: *Aṇiñorluki tadrājādyuvapratyayasyopasamkhyānaṁ kartavyamiti Baudhih pitā Baudhiḥ puttraḥ Audumbariḥ pitā Audumbariḥ puttraḥ.*

[7] II. 50. 13 (Siddhantavagisa edition), II. 48. 12 (*BORI* edition), cf *Audumbarā Durvibhāgāḥ Pāradā Bāhlikaiḥ saha.*

The Great Epic mentions the Audumbaras along with the tribes like the Durvibhāgas, Pāradas, Bāhlikas, etc. all of whom were inhabitants of North India, some of them living on the north-western fringes of India.

Moti Chandra (vide *GESM*, p. 90) taking *durvvibhāga* in the sense of 'disunited' makes it an adjective qualifying *Audumbarāḥ*. He thus holds that the Epic passage "may point to the Audumbara connections with the Sālva federation of which the Udumbaras with the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas, Bhuliṅgas and Śaradaṇḍas were a member." But such a view is hardly acceptable. *Durvibhāga* does not mean 'disunited'. Its meaning is just the opposite, i.e. 'difficult to be disunited', cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 487. To us, *Durvibhāga* appears to be the name of a people specially when it occurs in a passage which is a mere list of peoples. Even if the word *durvvibhāga* is to be taken as an adjective, it seems to have qualified the preceding word *Audumbarā*. The interpretation thus becomes that the Audumbaras were 'difficult to be disunited', i.e. they were a strong tribe.

[8] Verse 1466 (Asiatic Society edition).

[9] For example, the *Vāyu* (91. 98), *Brahmāṇḍa* (III. 66. 70), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (58. 10) etc. For details see my article in the *Purāṇa*, VII, no. 1, pp. 186-90.

[10] XIV. 4. It places them in the north-west with the Kapisṭhalas, presumably identical with the Kambistholi, dwelling on the Hydraotes or Ravi of the Classical writers (e. g. Arrian, *Indika*, Ch. IV)

[11] II. 4. 103. Also III. 1. 62.

[12] IV. 1. 173.

[13] IV. 1. 76 ; IV. 2. 89.

[14] *Bhūmikāṇda*, verse 39.

[15] IV. 266. The *Saṁkshiptasāra* also alludes to the tribe, 'taddhitapāda' sec, 223.

[16] VI. 75. Pliny places the Odombeores on the mouth of the Indus. They may appear to be different from the people who issued coins as well as from the Udumbaras who find mention in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. Cunningham and others have located the Odombeores of Pliny in Kachchha or Cutch region. Incidentally it may be noted, as Jayaswal has done in his *Hindu Polity* (p. 161), that "they have left their descendants in the enjoyment of their name...the modern community of Gujrati Brahmins of the Audumbara caste." Thus the findspots of coins and the references in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the work of Pliny show that there were three Audumbara countries: one in the north-eastern Punjab, another in the north-western Punjab and the third in Cutch. But in fact all these tracts appear to have been inhabited by three sections of the Audumbaras, thus

Odombeores. The *Vinayapiṭaka*[17] and the *Mahāmāyūrī*[18] refer to a place called Udumbara which evidently was named after the tribe.[19]

Now, the text which contains the earliest reference to the Audumbaras, as has been mentioned before, is the *Gaṇapātha*. It is generally believed that the major portion of this work, if not the whole, was composed by Pāṇini who may be placed somewhere in the fifth century B. C.[20] Hence the tribe certainly existed in the fifth century B. C.

That the Audumbaras flourished even before the fifth century B. C. is not unlikely. Among the literary texts mentioned above the most important in the present case is the *Chāndravyākaraṇa*, whose author Chandragomin is usually believed to have flourished in about the fifth century A. D.[21] This work in a *vṛitti* on Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* gives us an important piece of information in a verse which says :

udumbarās-tilakhalā-madrakārā yugandharāḥ /
bhuliṇgāḥ śaradaṇḍāś-cha śālvā'vayava-saṁjñitāḥ //

The verse can be translated thus : Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhuliṅga and Śaradaṇḍa—these are the sections of the Śālvas.

The fact stated in the verse is supported by the *Kāśikā* and the *Vaijayantī*, the first being a work of the seventh century A. D. and the latter of the twelfth century A. D. The tradition regarding the Audumbaras as their being one of the sections of the Śālvas is thus found to have been well established by the time of Chandragomin.

Now, the earliest mention of the Śālvas (as *Salvas*) is met with in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[22] which is generally believed to have been

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showing their migrations presumably at different periods of history. An analogous case is furnished by the Mālavas who were originally in the Punjab but subsequently migrated to Rajasthan and had also minor settlements at other places.

[17] II. 299. The text refers to a village named Udumbara, see *APP*, p. 10. J. Przyluski identifies *U-du-ma* of the Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* named *Dulva* with *Udumbara* of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*.

[18] *JA*, 1915, p. 44. Also *JUPHS*, XV, 2, pp. 28, 42. The *yaksha* of Udumbara was named Aṇḍabha.

[19] Cunningham also observes : "I think it more probable that it must be the name of the town or district, as we have several examples of such names being placed on coins as *Yaudheya*, *Śibi*, *Ujeniya* and *Mālavana*," *CASR*, V, pp. 154-55. Elsewhere he says : "The name Odumbara must be that of the town or district in which they (i.e. coins) are discovered", *CASR*, XIV, p. 116.

[20] See before, p. 2, fn. 12.

[21] See before, p. 3, fn. 20.

[22] X. 4. 1. 10 (*SBE*, XLIII, p. 344).

composed in the eighth century B. C.[23] According to a passage occurring in this text :

> *yadadvai mah'idabhakarma samappasyata mamaiva prajā sallvanāṁ*
> *rājanoh' bhavishyanmama brāhmaṇo mamavvaiśyā yattu mah'-*
> *etavatkarmaṇaḥ samāpitena mah'-ubhayathā sāllvanprajātirekshata'*
> *iti sa'esa eva śriresha eshoha' nnādaḥ* //

This has been translated by Eggeling thus : "(Syāparna once said) if this my sacrificial performance be complete, my own race would become the kings (nobles), Brāhmaṇas and the peasants of the Salvas ; but even by that much my work which has been completed my race will surpass the Salvas in both ways ; for this (Agni, the fire-altar) indeed, is (social) eminence and fame, and an eater of food."

The above passage bears testimony not only to the antiquity of the Śālvas but also the high degree of eminence and prosperity attained by them.

The tradition recorded in the quoted verse of the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* may refer at least to the time of the Vedic text when the Śālvas were already a powerful people. They could not have reached the position as reflected in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* without antecedent growth and preparation. This may require the beginning of their history to be traced to a period even earlier than the time of the composition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa*. The different constituent sections of the Śālvas, including the Audumbaras, may have existed in the same period and their amalgamation was probably one of the causes of their political and material success as witnessed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. In this connection, reference may be made to the Madrakāras who are also said to have formed one of the allied tribes along with the Audumbaras. These peoples appear in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[24] and the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*,[25] a fact which may also suggest the contemporaneity of the Audumbaras with the Salvas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Another people, the Yugandharas whom the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* includes in the Śālva group are mentioned in the *Mantrapāṭha*,[26] the date of the composition of which may not have been far from the date of the composition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The Śālvas who in this text appear

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[23] Cf. the statement of Keith : "The most that can be said is that they (i.e. the data collected by Keith regarding the date of later Vedic texts) tend to support the period 800-600 B. C. as a reasonable date for the period of the civilisation of the Brāhmaṇas", *CHI*, I, p. 149.

[24] VII. 14. 3.

[25] III. 3. 1 ; 7. 1.

[26] II. 11. 12.

1562
डा॰ डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय

to have been alluded to as Salva are said "to have declared that their king was Yaugandhari when they stayed their chariot on the banks of the Yamunā".[27] Attention may be drawn in this connection to a river named Śaradaṇḍa, probably identical with modern Śarāvatī in the Punjab, which is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[28] and it may be supposed that the peoples living on and near the banks of the river were known after its name. Probably to these Śaradaṇḍas the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* alludes.

We shall not be wrong in concluding therefore that the Audumbaras existed in the Brāhmaṇa period although they have not been mentioned explicitly in contemporary texts. Probably they had not yet become sufficiently prominent which may account for the omission of their name in the texts such as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*[29]

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE TRIBE

The tribe is known both as Udumbara and Audumbara, the latter name appearing in genitive in Prakrit on coins as *Odu(ṁ)barisa.* The term *Audumbara* is the *taddhita* form of the word *Udumbara* and it means either the people connected with the *udumbara*, i.e. the fig tree (*ficus glomerata*) or a country where that tree grows in abundance. It is interesting to note that the Nurpur district where Cunningham found some coins of the tribe was, according to his *Reports*, a place noted for its fig trees.[30] Cunningham[31] notes that the old name of the district was Dahmeri or Dahmbeori which appears to have been derived from the Audumbara. In another place he[32] says that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was Darmeri or Dharmeri, which is not an improbable abbreviation of the Audumbara ; the old name was changed to Nurpur by Jahangir in honour of his wife Nurjahan. Cunningham's suggestion has not been accepted by Rapson,[33] according to whom, the name *Damari* or *Dahmari* is more allied to *Damara* which occurs with Kulūta and other places in the account of the north-eastern division of India in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. Cunningham[84] alternatively suggests that "as Udumbara is also a name of silver, it is quite possible that Audumbara may simply refer to the prevailing red colour of the hilly district of Nurpur". And this suggestion, according to him, receives some support from the fact that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was Darmeri or Dharmeri, which appears to be a likely abbreviation of Audumbara. But the suggestion is untenable in view of the fact that the other tracts, where Audumbara coins have been found, are not of red colour.

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[27] *Ibid.* Commenting upon this *mantra,* which occurs as a *sūtra* in the *Āpastamba Gṛihya-sūtra* (which is generally placed before Pāṇini's grammar) in VI. 14. 5, Haradatta observes that the Sālva country was situated near the bank of the Yamunā. M. Winternitz observes : "According to our *mantra* we should have to place either the Sālvas or at least the Yugandharas forming one division of the Sālvas somewhere near the Yamunā", see *IVKS*, p. 97.

[28] II. 68. 15. Śaradaṇḍa has been identified by Przyluski with Śatadru in the Punjab, see *APP*, p. 3. Przyluski's identification is, however, untenable.

[29] See my article 'Antiquity of the Audumbaras' in the *PIHC*, 1961, pp. 44-47.

[30] *CASR*, XIV, p. 116.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

[32] *Ibid.*, V, p. 155.

[33] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 540.

Whether the particular place-name Darmeri or Dharmeri is an abbreviation of Audumbara is a matter of controversy. But there cannot be any dispute about the fact that the name Audumbara is derived from the word *Udumbara*, which means a fig tree. The tree that appears on the coins of the tribe has been identified by Cunningham[85] with the *udumbara* or fig tree. Though not absolutely certain, the identification is not beyond the range of possibility in view of the name of the tribe showing its connection with the fig tree which must have been one of basic importance in its history.

Among the coins of the Audumbaras we come across an interesting variety reperesented by two specimens, made of silver and round in shape, each bearing a bearded male figure on the obverse with a legend which refers to Viśpamitra, i.e. Viśvāmitra, and a tree in an enclosure on the reverse.[86] This shows that the person named on the obverse had some connection with the Audumbaras. But how and why Viśvāmitra came to be connected with this tribe? Allan[87] holds that "Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown". But a connection, in fact, can be established between the sage and the tribe on the basis of an evidence which has escaped the attention of scholars. The evidence is furnished by a story about the birth of Viśvāmitra to be found in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*[88], the basis of which is also traceable in the *Mahābhārata*.[39] The most important point to note in the story is that the mother of Viśvāmitra in order to have a child, embraced an *udumbara* or *audumbara* tree. The story, however, contains a lot of miraculous and incredible things, but the association of Viśvāmitra's birth with the *audumbara* tree is very useful in explaining the occurrence of his name and figure on coins of the Audumbaras. At the same time it shows that the tribe was intimately connected with the fig tree and their name was evidently derived from that tree (*udumbara*), the tree presumably being worshipped by the tribe as a totem. The association of the tribe with the fig tree on the one hand and Viśvāmitra on the other is supported by other sources as well. For instance, the tribe has been described as belonging to the family of Viśvāmitra in the *Harivaṁśa* (*loc. cit.*). The tradition regarding the common origin of Viśvāmitra and the Audumbaras is known from the combined testimony of the *Ṛigveda* and the *Purāṇas*, for while in the third book of the *Ṛigveda*, which is attributed to Viśvāmitra, the sage calls himself the son of Kuśika (III. 33. 5), the *Vāyu-* (*loc. cit.*) and the *Brahmāṇḍa-* (*loc. cit.*). *Purāṇas* assign a tribe called the Audumbaras to the Kuśika or Kauśika *gotra*.[40] Thus it appears to be certain that the name of the tribe was derived from *udumbara* or fig tree and Viśvāmitra was their 'national sage'. Happily for me, this view of mine has found general acceptance.[40a]

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[84] *CASR*, V, p. 155.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 154. Also *CASR*, XIV, p. 117 and *CAI*, p. 68. In one case, however, Cunningham doubtfully describes the tree as *udumbara* (cf. the description of coin no. 1, Pl. IV).

[86] See later, pp. 47, 63.

[87] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv.

[88] Chapter 82 (Vangavasi edition), Chapter 85 (Venkateswara edition). The present writer in an article published in the *JAS*, III, No. 1, 1961, pp. 15-19, has tried to establish the connection between the sage and the tribe on the basis of this story together with other items of evidence. In other words, there is no doubt about the fact that there was an intimate connection between the tribe, whose name was derived from *udumbara*, and the celebrated sage Viśvāmitra.

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[39] III. 115 ; XII. 49 ; XIII. 14 (*BORI* edition). There are some differences between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa* versions of the story as regards minor details. The kernel of the story is, however, the same. The *Kālikāpurāṇa* is believed to have been composed between seventh and tenth centuries A. D., see R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, II, p. 243f.

[40] *Udumbara* is known to be the name of a descendant of the sage Viśvāmitra and the founder of a *gotra* of the Kauśika group, *EBSGP*, pp. 147-48, 153, 157.

[40a] To quote R. C. Majumdar : "While discussing the origin of the tribe the author has made a distinct contribution to our knowledge by bringing out the legendary connection of Viśvāmitra whose name and figure appear on the coins of the Audumbaras with this tribe", *JAS*, VII, no. 4, p. 277. S. V. Sohoni remarks : "Dr. Dasgupta has explained why the Audumbaras put Viśvamitra on one of their coin types....This is a definite addition to our knowledge about this interesting coinage," *INC*, V, pt. 1, p. 33. Ajay Mitra-Sastri says : "This mystery has of late been solved by Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta who drew our attention to a story in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* according to which Gadhi's wife had to embrace the fig tree (*udumbara*) in order to give birth to Viśvamitra," *JNSI*, XXVII, pt. 1, p. 90. D. C. Sircar seems to have accepted my view with a reference to my name in an article published in the, *JNSI*, XXIV, 1962, p. 4, fn. 3. Curiously, however, in his *Studies in Indian Coins* (1968, p. 21, fn. 1), in which he has incorporated the same article, my name has been omitted.

Coins of the Audumbaras

Coins of the Audumbaras may be divided into the following classes according to metal and size. They have been further subdivided on grounds of legends and symbols.

Class 1

Coins belonging to this class are made of copper and are square in shape. They have revealed the names of four kings, viz. Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha and Mahādeva. Their coins have been included in four varieties. The legends appearing on them are of the same type and "the use of long vowels such as *ā*, *ū*, *ai*, and *au* seems to have been avoided both in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī" legends, thereby getting *Sivadasa* for *Sivadāsa*, *Rudradasa* for *Rudradāsa*, *Odu*(*ṁ*)*barī* for *Audu* (*ṁ*)*barī* and even *Mahadevasa* for *Mahādevasa* in Brāhmī. The full legends restored from different specimens are given in the following description.

Variety **A**

Obverse : Tree in an enclosure on left ; forepart of an elephant to left on right. Undulating line below. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Mahadevasa Raña Sivadasasa.

Reverse : A storeyed temple ; trident with an axe on right. Legend in Brāhmī :
Odubarisa Sivadasasa (sometimes the word *Odubarisa* appears as *Odubarasa*). (*CN* 19)

Variety **B**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Mahadevasa Raña Rudradasasa

Reverse : Legend in Brāhmī :
Odubarisa. Same device. (*CN* 20)

Variety **C**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
(*Maha*) *devasa Raña Dharaghosha* (*sa*)

Reverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī : (*O*)*dubar*(*i*)*sa.* (*CN* 21)

Variety **D**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Mahadevasa (top) *Odubarisa* (right).

Reverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī :
Maha (*ā*)*devasa* (top), *Odubarisa* (left). (*CN* 22)

Class 2

Coins belonging to this class are made of silver and are round in shape. They furnish the names of two kings, viz. Mahādeva and Dharaghosha. It is to be noted here that the unique coin of Rudravarmā, attributed to the Audumbaras by Cunningham, Whitehead, Allan and others, cannot be classed with the coins of the Audumbaras since it bears the name of a tribe styled Vemaka. R. C. Kar[41] has correctly attributed it to the Vemakas and not to the Audumbaras. Since we accept his view, we refrain from including the coin of Rudravarmā in the classified list of the coins of the Audumbaras (see later). The legends appearing on the coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha, restored from a number of their coins, are given in the description.

Variety **A**

Obverse : Humped bull on right ; lotus flower (?) in front.
Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Bhagavatamahadevasa (around) *Rajarañа* (below).

Reverse : Elephant to left ; trident on left. Legend in Brāhmī :
Bhagavatamaha(*ā*)*devasa* (around) *Rajara*(*ā*)*ja*(below.)
(*CN* 23)

Variety **B**

Obverse : Humped bull on left ; on left ; above.

Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Bhagavatamaha (*devasa*) (around) *Rajarañа* (below).

Reverse : Same as above. Traces of legend around. Below :
Rājaraja. (*CN* 24)

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[41] *IHQ*, XX, pp. 59-62.

N.B. Coins of Mahādeva have been subdivided into two varieties on the ground of the position of the bull as well as the differences in symbols on the obverse. On the reverse of the coin of Variety B trident is not clear.

Variety C

Obverse : Viśvāmitra, standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm. Legends in Kharoshṭhī : in front, *Viśpamitra* ; around, *Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghoshasa* ; below, *Odubarisa.*

Reverse : Trident with axe on right ; tree in an enclosure on left. Legend in Brāhmī :
around, *Mahādevasa Raña Dharaghoshasa* ;
below, *Odubarisa.* (*CN* 25)

N.B. Whitehead reads the obverse and reverse legends as...*Rajna Dharaghoshasa*, *CCPM*, p. 167.

A NOTE ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF MAHĀDEVA COINS

There has been an objection to the inclusion of the silver (Class 2, Variety A) and copper coins (Class 3, Variety K) bearing the legend *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* among the monetary issues of the Audumbaras.[42] The question of attribution of these species seems to hinge on the absence or presence of the tribal name on them. Thus while the copper pieces bearing the inscription *Mahadevasa raña Odubarisa* (Class 1, Variety D) have been classed with the coins of the Audumbaras, the silver and copper specimens with no reference to the Audumbaras, have been excluded from the list of the issues of the said tribe. The legend on the copper coins supposedly being incomplete, these are not regarded as the issues of any ruler called Mahādeva. Thus the attribution of the coins mentioned above to the Audumbaras and an identification of Mahādeva as their king have been doubted on the following grounds :

First, the Audumbara chiefs enjoyed the title *Mahādeva* in addition to the common regal appellation *rājan* ; had the coins bearing the legend *Mahadevasa raña Odubarisa* been issued by a ruler called Mahādeva, the legend should have been *Mahadevasa raña Mahadevasa Odubarisa.*

Second, had Mahādeva belonged to the tribe of the Audumbaras, we shall be justified in expecting him to have used the title *Mahādeva,* mentioned the tribal name and followed the same type as Dharaghosha's.

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[42] *JNSI*, XXVI, pt. 2, pp. 157-61 ; *ibid.*, XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 87-88 ; *ibid.*, XXX, pp. 63-67.

Third, the silver coins of Mahādeva differ very much from those of Dharaghosha, both in type and legend.

Fourth, the main obverse and reverse types (humped bull and elephant) of the silver coins, which are borrowed from the hemidrachms of Apollodotus, agree more closely with Allan's Class 2 of the Yaudheya coins than with any definitely known Audumbara coins.

In connection with the first argument it may be noted that several copper coins (the British Museum has seven coins) mentioning *Mahādeva* only have come to light. It seems rather strange to think that the mint-master has systematically omitted the name of the issuer and given the title only, used by an anonymous ruler. It is more probable that the king's name has been given in all such cases. That being so, the necessity of repeating the same word did not arise. The use of the word *Mahādeva* seems to have served a double purpose: as a personal name and as a regal title.

The second argument is partly met above. As regards the omission of the tribal name as well as typological difference from the coinage of Dharaghosha, it may be pointed out that the mention of the name of the tribe, though expected, is not an invariable feature of the tribal coins (e.g. the Chatreśvara coins of the Kuṇindas and the copper coins of the Yaudheyas bearing the legend *Bhagavatasvāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*). Rājarāja Mahādeva may have been a relatively powerful chief, known more by his name than by his association with his tribe. As stated later (p. 57), the omission of the tribal name in a series may be due to factors connected with the increase of the power of the chief concerned. Such a thing may have happened in the present case.

As regards the next argument, it is not true that the coins of Mahādeva typologically differ from those of Dharaghosha. While the copper coins of Mahādeva are related to the copper issues of Dharaghosha in respect of type (tree-in-railing, elephant: temple and the combined trident battle-axe) and legend (Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī), the silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha seem to have practically belonged to the same numismatic conception as seen in their type, fabric, legend and weight. Thus the silver issues of both Mahādeva and Dharaghosha show the common motif, viz. the trident (the reverse of Mahādeva's coins, Class 2, Variety A and the reverse of Dharaghosha's silver coins, Class 2, Variety C). Apart from similarity in fabric, both these groups of coins bear Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends on their obverse and reverse respectively in contemporaneous characters. The two silver coins of Mahādeva weighing 33 and 31 grains and those of Dharaghosha, which weigh 37·5 and 43·7 grains seem to approximate to the same standard.

The Mahādeva silver coins bearing the figure of an elephant to left on their reverse are evidently related to their copper counterparts with the same animal motif on their obverse. Since the legend shows that the latter were undoubtedly the issues of the Audumbaras, the silver coins as well may be supposed to have been issued by the same tribe. As the silver coins of Mahādeva do not differ very much from those of Dharaghosha, it is not relevant in this context to draw a conclusion from their similarity with Allan's Class 2 of the Yaudheya coins.

As regards the recent suggestion that the Mahādeva coins represent the monetary issues of the Vemakas or Vaimakis struck in the name of their favourite god Mahādeva or Śiva, it may be mentioned that this is substantially the view of S. K. Chakrabortty[48] expressed as early as 1931, according to which the said coins were issued by the Audumbaras in the name of Mahādeva, the legend thereon being thus interpreted : 'In the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings.' According to the present suggestion, the coins in question are to be attributed to the Vaimakis instead of to the Audumbaras. This view is based on purely typological grounds (e.g. common motifs like bull, elephant, lotus, trident, etc.). But it does not take into account the absence of epithets *rājarāja* and *bhagavata* occurring on the coins of the Vemaka chief Rudravarmā. Hence the attribution of the Mahādeva coins to the Vemakas does not seem to be tenable.

To conclude, therefore, the coins under review were issued by an Audumbara chief named Mahādeva who was regarded as the personification of the deity having the same name. If so, the king did not act as the regent of the god, but was the god himself (cf. the legends *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* and *rajaraña* or *rājarāja*).

Class 3

Coins belonging to this class are made of copper and are round in shape. On the basis of Cunningham's attribution, these coins have been classed with those of the Audumbaras by later numismatists. They have disclosed the names of four rulers ending in *mita*, i.e. *mitra*, the names being Ajamita (Āryamitra), Mahimita (Mahīmitra), Bhānumita (Bhānumitra) and Mahabhutimita (Mahābhūtimitra). It appears that the *mitra* group of kings were different from Mahādeva and Dharaghosha and the *dāsa* kings like Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa. The coins of these *mitra* kings may be placed later than the coins of other Audumbara kings (see later).

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[48] *AIN*, pp. 161-62. Following Chakrabortty D. C. Sircar says : "The earliest Audumbara coins that were issued in the name of the god Mahādeva or Śiva bear the Prakrit legend, in both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī, indicating *bhagavato mahādevasya rājarājasya*," *AIU*, p. 161, fn. 4.

Variety A

Obverse : Male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Raña Ajamitasa.
Reverse : Elephant to left, tree on left. Legend in Brāhmī :
Ajamitasa. (*CN* 26)

Variety B

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Raña Ajamitra (sa).
Reverse : Elephant to left with rider. Legend in Brāhmī :
Rājña Aja(mitra). (*CN* 27)

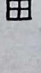
N.B. Coins of Ajamitra (Āryamitra) have been divided into two varieties on the ground of the reverse device. On specimens belonging to Variety A tree appears on the reverse while it is absent on the reverse of coins belonging to Variety B.

Variety C

Obverse : Standing male figure. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Mah(i)mitrasa.
Reverse : Elephant to left. Legend in Brāhmī :
Maha(i)mita(sa). (*CN* 28)

N.B. Cunningham reads on his specimen (*CAI*, p. 69, Pl. IV, 9) *(Rā)jña* in Kharoshṭhī and *Rājanya* in Brāhmī.

Variety D

Obverse : Elephant to left. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Raña Bhānumitrasa.
Reverse : Symbols like the following 

Legend in Brāhmī :
(Ra)ño Bhạ(ā)numita(sa). (*CN* 29)

Variety E

Obverse : Same. Same legend in Kharoshṭhī (illegible).

Reverse : Similar symbols plus an undulating line (snake ?). Same legend in Brāhmī (lost). (*CN* 30)

Variety F

Obverse : Male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand as in Variety A ; undulating line on right. Kharoshṭhī legend is illegible.

Reverse : Elephant to left with rider as in Variety B. Legend in Brāhmī :
...*Bhānumitasa*. (*CN* 31)

Variety G

Obverse : Elephant to left. Kharoshṭhī legend :
Raña (—) *numitrasa* (?)

Reverse : Elephant to right before a tree in railing.
Legend in Brāhmī :
...*numitrasa*. (*CN* 32)

N.B. Coins of Bhānumitra have been divided into four categories (D-G) on the grounds of the devices and symbols. In three cases elephant appears on the obverse and in one case a male figure appears on the obverse. Symbols like and an undulating line appear on the reverse in two cases while in other two instances the device is constituted by an elephant. The male figure and elephant with rider connect the coins belonging to Variety F with the coins of Ajamitra (Āryamitra) and Mahīmitra thereby indicating that Bhānumitra was in all probability related to them.

Variety H

Obverse : Standing male figure. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Mahabhūtimitrasa.

Reverse : Elephant to left with rider. Legend in Brāhmī is illegible. (*CN* 33)

N.B. The obverse and reverse devices connect this variety with other varieties already described. In other words, Mahābhūtimitra also appears to have been connected with Ajamitra, Mahīmitra and Bhānumitra.

Variety I

Obverse : Elephant to right ; traces of legend.
Reverse : Tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī :
Asata...hakra (?). (*CN* 34)

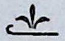
N.B. Though the name of the issuer of this coin is not known, the elephant and tree devices connect this coin with the species under review. Possibly the issuer of this piece was a *mitra* king. The fabric also supports this conjecture.

Variety J

Obverse : Tree in railing on right ; an undulating line on left. Legend (Kharoshṭhī ?) is illegible.
Reverse : Temple. Traces of Brāhmī legend. (*CN* 35)

N.B. The tree and temple devices and symbols like *nandipada* and an undulating line tend to class the coins of this variety with other varieties. In other words, these coins also seem to have been issued by one or more than one king of the *mitra* family.

Variety K

Obverse : Symbol 

Reverse : Legend in Brāhmī :
Bhagava(*ta*) *Mahadevasa.*
Standing figure holding in right hand a trident and a battle-axe combined. (*CN* 36)

N.B. The name *Mahādeva* and the reverse device seem to connect this variety with the Audumbara coins (see p. 47f).

Coins of Class 3 pertaining to the *mitra* rulers have been doubtfully assigned to the Audumbaras by R. D. Banerji.[44] But S. K. Chakrabortty[45] has attributed the coins of Ajamitra and Mahīmitra, on grounds of style, to the Audumbaras. As regards Bhānumitra, Chakrabortty[46] entertains some doubt about his connections with the Audumbaras. About Ajamitra and Mahīmitra, he[47] observes that they "were rulers of the tribe, of which the national god was Mahādeva or Śiva". It is interesting to note here that the name Bhānumitra occurs also in the series of coins of the Pañchāla *mitra* rulers.[48] But it will be wrong to think that the coins of Bhānumitra noted above are to be included in the Pañchāla series. In other words, the coins of the *mitra* rulers like Ajamitra, Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra are not assignable to the *mitra* kings of Pañchāla merely on the ground of the *mitra* name-ending, as P. L. Gupta[49] would like us to believe.

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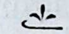
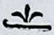
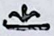
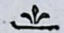
[44] *NS*, XXIII, p. 248.
[45] *AIN*, p. 164. Also *NS*, XLVI, p. 74.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 163. Also *ibid.*, p. 74.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 164. Also *ibid.*, p. 74.

A NOTE ON VARIETY K

Variety K, as has been shown above, is represented by two coins which bear a symbol  on the obverse and a standing figure holding in right hand a trident and a battle-axe combined on the reverse. The legend *Bhagava*(*ta*) *Mahadevasa*, written in Brāhmī characters, occurs on the reverse. Made of copper and round in shape, these coins were brought to the notice of the scholarly world for the first time by Rapson.[50] According to his information, the late White King possessed two specimens of this coinage. The accompanying photograph of one of the specimens published in the above-mentioned journal does not, however, help us to make a detailed discussion of the variety. Among the features of this specimen, the first that attracts our attention is the legend *Bhagava*(*ta*) *Mahadevasa* appearing on the reverse of the coin. It recalls a similar legend which is noticed on some coins of the Audumbaras. On those coins the legend also appears in Kharoshṭhī and the words *Rajaraja* and *Rajaraña* are added to the legends in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī respectively. As the legends on the Audumbara series and the present coin are practically identical, this may be considered to be a strong ground for including this variety in the Audumbara series. The probability of this attribution is enhanced when another point is taken into consideration, the point being the 'standing figure holding in right hand a trident and battle-axe combined'. The standing figure (of a male according to Rapson) is reminiscent of the similar device appearing on the Audumbara coins which reveal the names of four rulers ending in *mitra*, while the combined trident and battle-axe recalls the same motif appearing on the coins of Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha and Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. The only novel feature of the coin as found on its obverse  lies in the symbol which according to Rapson may represent some form of the *liṅgam.* It is to be noted here that the symbol is countermarked on a coin of Uttamadatta, a prince of Mathura.[51] It may be supposed that this particular coin of Uttamadatta hailing from Mathura was restruck by one with his own symbol  whose name (as well as title) was Mahādeva. It seems that this Mahādeva was no other than the Audumbara king or leader who struck a number of coins, both in copper and silver. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows: Firstly, the legend *Bhagavata Mahadeva* of the countermarked coin appears on the coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. Secondly, the curious symbol  on Uttamadatta's coin is exactly similar to that which occurs on Mahādeva's coin as described at the outset. And since that coin of Mahādeva has already been assigned to the Audumbara series on grounds of legend, epigraphy and motif, it is not unlikely that Uttamadatta's coin was counterstruck by the same Mahādeva (though the name is absent) who belonged to the Audumbara tribe.

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[48] *CCBM*, pp. 195-97, Pl. XXVII, 15-20 ; *CCIM*, p. 187, Pl. XXII, 3.

[49] *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 205.

[50] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 112f, Pl. : No. 12.

It may be presumed, therefore, that Mahādeva, the Audumbara king or leader, came into contact with Uttamadatta of Mathura and as he is seen to have restruck the coin of the latter, it may be inferred that the relations between them were hostile. S. V. Sohoni[52] has suggested that Uttamabhadra, who is said to have been relieved of the Mālava pressure by Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta in his Nasik inscription,[53] is not the name of a tribe but the name of a person and that person was no other than Uttamadatta, the king of Mathura. Thus Sohoni is inclined to hold that Uttamadatta came into conflict with the Mālavas as well as the Audumbaras. But such a view cannot be accepted on the following grounds.

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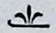
[51] *CCBM*, p. 177, Pl. XXIV, 17. This coin bears the name of Uttamadatta without the regal title. Allan is inclined to distinguish the coins of Uttamadatta with the regal title (e.g. *CCIM*, Pl. XXII, 11, p. 193) from those without the regal title; he considers Uttamadatta with the regal title to be a later ruler, *op. cit.*, p. cx.

[52] *JNSI*, VII, p. 27f. Sohoni does not accept my view on the ground that the period of the *mitras* of Mathura is not absolutely certain, see *INC*, V, pt. 1, p. 34. It is difficult, however, to place the *mitra* and *datta* coins of Mathura towards the end of the first century A. D. or the beginning of the second century A. D.

[53] *EI*, VII, p. 78f. Rapson holds that "the Uttamabhadras were no doubt a tribe of the Kṣatriyas", *CCBM*, Andhras, Western Kṣatrapas, etc., p. lvi.

Firstly, Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta flourished in the second half of the first century A. D. Secondly, all the coins of the Hindu rulers of Mathura such as of the *mitras* and *dattas*, "cover the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B. C." (*CCBM*, p. cxi). Uttamadatta can in no way be relegated to the first century A. D., in other words, to the time of Nahapāna. Thirdly, the rulers of Mathura, the one-time feudatories of the Śuṅgas, belonged to the period when the Śuṅga empire was tottering due to Greek invasion on the one hand and family feuds on the other, i.e. in the second-first century B. C. Lastly, a people called the Uttamas, presumably the Uttamabhadras, has actually been mentioned along with the Daśārṇas in the *Mahābhārata.*[54] It appears, therefore, that Uttamadatta was a local ruler of Mathura and a contemporary of Mahādeva and thus he cannot be identified with Uttamabhadra of the Nasik inscription. Uttamadatta flourished in the second-first century B. C. and the epigraphy of silver coins of Mahādeva, whose contemporary he was, seems to confirm this.

Perhaps, as it appears to our mind, Mahādeva carried his arms into the territory of Uttamadatta and after inflicting a defeat upon the latter, restruck his coins. Both the original and the restruck coins, however, do not bear any Kharoshṭhī legend on them like the Audumbara species. The use of Brāhmī, adopted by Mahādeva, appears to have been well-established in Mathura where the coin with his symbol has  been found. As regards the original one, it may be noted that its provenance is not recorded, and what appears to be probable is that such monoscriptual coins were meant for the more easterly parts of the Audumbaras. But all these are to be treated, however, as hypothetical, and until further specimens are forthcoming, we are to remain satisfied with the only plausible conclusion, that the coinage under review is to be attributed to Mahādeva, the Audumbara ruler, who at some stage of his career came into conflict with Uttamadatta of Mathura.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE AUDUMBARA COINS

Cunningham found coins of the Audumbaras, to recapitulate a fact mentioned at the outset, along with those of a few foreign rulers such as Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophares, Kanishka and Huvishka. This fact is important inasmuch as it tends to show that the territory of the Audumbaras had been under foreign rulers for some time, probably first under the Indo-Greeks and then under the Kushāṇas. At least they came into contact with these foreign rulers. Among the coins discussed above, those of Class 1 "may be presumed to be the earliest, as distinctly Indian in type and showing no trace of foreign influence."[55] On grounds of palaeography, R. D. Banerji, Allan and others have assigned these coins to the first century B. C. According to R. D. Banerji,[56] the Brāhmī letters occurring on these coins "belong to the first century B. C. when angular forms had taken the place of the more cursive alphabet of the inscriptions of Aśoka. The letters of the Kharoshṭhī legend would also point to the same date." But the argument of R. D. Banerji relating to the angular forms of letters is not a very solid one since sometimes angular as well as cursive letters are found to be prevalent side by side. Indeed, palaeography alone cannot be regarded as a very sure ground for the dating of an inscription or of a coin or a series of coins having a reference to a period of fifty or even hundred years. Some of the letters occurring on our coins, for example, *ba*, *ja* and *ra*, appear in the same forms in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Similarly, Kharoshṭhī letters like *o*, *du* and *ma* occurring on our coins are found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. We may thus see that in order to find out a date for our coins the ground of palaeography cannot be strictly adhered to. Nevertheless, Brāhmī letters like *ma* and Kharoshṭhī letters like *sa* do render us some help to obtain a rough idea of the period of the Audumbara coins. For instance, the angular form of *ma* and the open-mouthed *sa* (the first in Brāhmī and the second in Kharoshṭhī) indicate the development of these two letters and thus tend to assign the species bearing them to a period later than that to which are ascribable the objects on which their counterparts appear in a rounded and close-mouthed forms respectively. We may, therefore, regard these coins as belonging to a period a little earlier than the first century B. C. Probably they were issued in the latter half of the second century B. C. It seems to be likely that the square copper coins bearing the name of the tribe as well as the names of the kings—Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa Mahādeva and Dharaghosha—preceded those of the foreign rulers such as Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophares, etc. Among these kings, again, Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa appear to have flourished earlier than Mahādeva and Dharaghosha. Silver coins of Mahādeva and

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[54] VI. 9. 41 (Siddhantavagisa edition), cf. *Uttamāścha Daśārṇāścha Mekalāśchotkalaiḥ saha*. The *BORI* edition has, however, *Uttamaujā* instead of *Uttamāścha*, VI. 10. 39.

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[55] *CCBM*, p. lxxxiii.

[56] *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

Dharaghosha betraying foreign influence seem to favour such a contention.

As regards the silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha, they seem to indicate that their issuers came into contact, either politically or culturally, with the Bactrian king Zoilus or some of his predecessors or successors inasmuch as their coins are based on Graeco-Indian model both from the points of view of type and metrology (see later). Hence their coins seem to be slightly later in date and they may be placed in the last few decades of the first century B. C. or the early years of the first century A. D.

As has been pointed out already, the coins of the *mitra* rulers (Class 3) have been doubtfully assigned to the Audumbaras by R. D. Banerji. The omission of the tribal name on these coins furnished the ground for doubt of Banerji.[57] P. L. Gupta,[58] on the ground of *mitra* surname, attributes them to the *mitra* rulers of Pañchāla and conjectures that those *mitra* kings succeeded the Audumbaras in the area wherefrom the specimens in question have hailed. As regards the doubt expressed by Banerji relating to the attribution of these coins, it may be pointed out that mere omission of the name of the tribe cannot be considered as a definite ground for the supposition that the present series does not belong to the Audumbaras. There are instances to show that the name of the tribe does not always and invariably occur on the coins of the tribe concerned.[59] Indeed, in classification of coins, type and fabric are more important than the mere mention of the name of the tribe who issues them. Further, the omission of the tribal name in the series in question may be due to factors such as the change in the constitution of the Audumbaras with the increase of the authority of the chiefs of the tribe who gave their own names only in the coin-legends. P. L. Gupta's contention is also open to objection. For it would be risky to attribute the coins under review to the *mitra* rulers of Pañchāla or to any other *mitra* dynasty of Madhyadeśa simply on the ground of the occurrence of the *mitra* surname. Tendency to adopt the surname of the celebrated dynasty by other less known and later dynasties was a feature of the socio-political history of ancient India (cf. the adoption of the *Gupta* and *Pāla* surnames by different dynasties of northern India after the appearance, and even long after the disappearance, of these two famous dynasties). On the other hand, we have come across coins of a king named Vijayamitra (see later, Ch. 5) who has been described therein as belonging to the Kulūtas. If the Kulūtas, a neighbouring tribe of the Audumbaras, could have had a king with a *mitra* surname, the Audumbaras might have equally got rulers with *mitra* name-endings. The coins of Ajamitra, Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra should, therefore, be attributed without any doubt to the Audumbaras. In other words, like Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and others, Ajamitra, Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra were also the Audumbara chiefs or rulers.

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[57] *Op. cit.*, p. 248. [58] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

[59] Cf. Class 1 coins of the Yaudheyas, *CCBM*, pp. 265-66. The well-known coins of the Kuṇindas bearing the name of Chatreśvara and the copper pieces of the Yaudheyas bearing the name of Brahmaṇyadeva, for example, do not bear any name of the tribes who issued them. The coins containing the names of Bhānuva (rma) and Rāvaṇa which are attributed to the Yaudheyas (see later) do not bear the name of the tribe concerned.

Let us now turn to the period of the coins of these *mitra* rulers. Allan[60] dates them in the first century B. C. or A. D., though he does not furnish any ground for his dating. A similar date has also been suggested by Rapson.[61] We hold that these coins are later than the coins of Classes 1 and 2 (square and of copper, and round and of silver) though no definite conclusion as to their being later than other coins or belonging to the first century A. D. is as yet possible.[62]

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

The copper coins of the Audumbaras belonging to Class 1 weigh between 31·0 and 46·0 grains. The silver coins of the tribe weigh between 31·5 and 37·5 grains. Coins belonging to Class 3 bearing the names of rulers with *mitra* name-ending vary between 25·0 and 71·0 grains. The coin marked as Variety K being a worn-out piece is difficult to be correctly weighed. As regards the metrology of the copper coins belonging to Classes 1 and 3, it may be noted that probably coins conforming to a weight of about 36 grains, as is indicated by Class 1 pieces, may be described as ¼th *paṇa* pieces while the coins with an average of 60 grains, as is indicated by a good number of coins belonging to Class 3, reflect a tendency to conform to the ½ *paṇa* weight-standard. But unfortunately most of the copper coins either belonging to Class 1 or to Class 3 are too badly preserved to give any idea about the exact weight-standard to which they belonged.

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[60] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

[61] *RIC*, p. 11. Rapson gives a date round about 100 B. C.

[62] C. C. Das Gupta observes that the *mitra* coins cannot be placed as late as the first century A. D., *DKS*, p. 64.

The silver coins, however, place us in a better position. As has been said above, the silver coins weigh between 31·5 and 37·5 grains. One silver coin of Dharaghosha belonging to the cabinet of the Punjab Museum weighs 43·7 grains. Thus the weights of the silver coins of the Audumbaras, varying from 31·5 to 43·7 grains, may be taken to have conformed to the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins of a particular class.[68]

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE AUDUMBARA COINS

The metrology of the silver coins, noted above, leads us to the question of the foreign influence on the Audumbara coins. It may be mentioned at the outset that the later Indo-Greek kings used what is known as the Indo-Persian weight-standard of 86·45 grains. The hemidrachms of the Indo-Greek kings weigh substantially the half of a Persian siglos of 86·45 grains, or perhaps a little less, the average being, say, 40 grains. Now, the silver coins of Mahādeva weigh between 31·5 and 33 grains while those of Dharaghosha weigh between 37·5 and 43·7 grains. This fact will indicate that the silver coins conform more to the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins which is of 40 grains, as has been just mentioned, than to the indigenous measure which is of 56 grains. The silver coins of the Audumbaras weighing between 31·5 and 43·7 grains thus conform to the Indo-Greek weight-standard.

As to the devices, it may be seen that the figure of Viśvāmitra on the silver coins of Dharaghosha bears a strong resemblance to Hercules crowning himself as found on the hemidrachms of Lysias; the club has disappeared but the lion's skin is present. The coin also shows 'unmistakable foreign influence' from the standpoint of general fabric. A touch of foreign influence is also discernible in the adoption of the attributive epithet like *rajaraja* (*rājarāja*) by Mahādeva on coins of Class 2. Besides the Indo-Greek influence, Scythian influence on some Audumbara coins may also be noticed; as for example, one may find out a resemblance between the standing poses of Pallas who holds thunderbolt in the right and aegis in the left hand on a coin of Azilises (*NC*, 1890, Pl. X, 5a) and of Viśvāmitra on the silver coins of Dharaghosha, though the figure of the latter looks like that of a sage.

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[68] The weight-standard of coins of the Indo-Greeks of a particular class with an average of 40 grains seems to have been apparently derived from the weight of the Persian siglos. This new weight-standard seems to have influenced the coinage of indigenous rulers or tribes.

DEVICES AND SYMBOLS ON THE AUDUMBARA COINS

The devices and symbols which occur on the Audumbara coins are: *(i)* tree in an enclosure, *(ii)* elephant (sometimes its forepart), *(iii)* bull (sometimes humped), *(iv)* lotus flower, *(v)* an undulating line, *(vi)* trident with battle-axe, *(vii)* storeyed temple, *(viii)* figure of Viśvāmitra, and *(ix)* symbols like . Let us now examine these devices and symbols.

(i) Tree in an enclosure: The tree occurring on the Audumbara coins has been identified by Cunningham with the *udumbara* (fig tree).[64] The tree is either the 'canting badge' (or *lāñchchhana* or heraldic crest) of the tribe or the sacred *sthalavṛiksha* of the locality where the coins were in currency. Allan[65] is reluctant to identify the tree with the *udumbara* (fig tree) in view. Though there is some force in Allan's argument, in the present context however, the tree can be taken as the *udumbara*, the tree undoubtedly being the totem of the tribe. And thus it seems to represent the highly esteemed *sthalavṛiksha* of the tribe and as such it was put into an enclosure or railing like stupas and other sacred objects (for details see pp. 12-13).

(ii) Elephant: Cunningham notices only one coin on which elephant occurs. His specimen was so poor that he had to content himself with a drawing instead of a photograph from cast. And in that drawing the entire body of the elephant is found above the undulating line but on the coins belonging to the Irippal find, the head, trunk and the forelegs only are to be found. Like the Ārjunāyanas and others, the Audumbaras also seem to have reserved their veneration for the animal (for details see pp. 24-25).

(iii) Bull: This animal like the elephant makes its appearance on the coins of the Audumbaras. Evidence, literary as well as archaeological, is not lacking to show the wide popularity of this animal among ancient Indian tribes (e.g. the Agras and the Ārjunāyanas pp. 13, 24). On account of the occurrence of the trident and the

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[64] *Udumbara* appears as a sacred tree along with *aśvattha* (ficus religiosa), *nyagrodha* (ficus Indica) and *plaksha* (ficus infectoria) in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 32, VIII. 60.

Recently K. D. Bajpai has proposed a different interpretation of this tree-in-railing symbol, so common on early Indian coins; according to him it stands for Kalpavṛiksha of Indian tradition (*Ṛtam*, I, no. 1, Lucknow, p. 130, fn. 3). We think, however, that the tree symbol generally stands for *sthalavṛiksha* and contextually represents a particular species; as for example, the tree on the present coins has been shown to be the *udumbara*.

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

battle-axe, the bull appears to be a theriomorphic representation of the god Śiva with whom it is traditionally associated as his *vāhana* under the name *nandi.* The animal, as it appears on the silver coins of Mahādeva, is of humped variety. Boldly conceived and well executed, the bull on Mahādeva's coins recalls its counterparts appearing on some Indus seals and on the pillar at Rampurva.

(*iv*) *Lotus flower* : Some doubts exist as to the occurrence of the lotus flower on the Audumbara coins. Allan is, however, inclined to take the object under the head of the bull in the 'bull : elephant' type coins with the lotus flower. It may also be regarded as a *chakra* or discus and may be a countermark. To the Indians the lotus is a sacred flower, symbolizing *śrī* or fortune. The flower also appears as a symbol of various deities and a number of religious and metaphysical ideas.[66] If the object under discussion is identified with the lotus, its appearance on the coins of a tribe eager to have *śrī* or fortune as is indicated by its commercial activities (see later) is but a natural phenomenon.

(*v*) *Undulating line* : The meandering line appearing on our coins was described by Cunningham as a snake.[67] Allan[68] describes it simply as an 'undulating line'. S. K. Chakrabortty[69] argues that when a zigzag line occurs with a hill symbol, it may signify a river and that in such case the hill and the river are the special local features. In the present case, however, there is no hill symbol, and hence the zigzag line may have been used for an ornamental purpose. There is no reason, however, why the zigzag line itself should never have the meaning which it carried except when it is associated with the hill symbol. It may be surmised that the undulating line represents a river and the tree and the river appearing together on the coins probably symbolize the fertility of the country and the resultant affluence of the tribe concerned. May this undulating line in the present case represent the river called Udumbarāvatī which is mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*[70] of Patañjali, as well as in the *Harivaṁśa* ?[71] This river, as the name suggests, may have been connected with the land of the Audumbaras.[72]

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[66] For the representation of lotus as symbol of deities like Brahmā, Kālī, Lakshmī and of ideas like Nirvāṇa, see *MSIAC*, pp. 61, 91f, 100, 102, 214, etc.

[67] *CAI*, p. 68 f.

[68] *Op. cit.*, pp. 122, 128.

[69] *NS*, XLVI, p. 61. Barnett also once suggested that the so-called *chaitya* symbol (described by us as the mountain symbol) and the undulating line at its base may stand for "the Mountain of Heaven, Mount Meru of Classical literature and the divine lake at its base", *IA*, LVIII, p. 20.

[70] IV. 2. 71.

[71] Chapter VIII, 167, l. 9511.

[72] Puri identifies Udumbarāvatī with a small tributary joining the river Beas near Gurudaspur, *IPP*, p. 71. For the tributary see *IG*, XXVI (Atlas).

(*vi*) *Trident with battle-axe* : The *triśūla* was regarded as a sacred symbol not only by the Hindus but also by the Buddhists (cf. the early Buddhist art of Sanchi, Bharhut, etc.) and the Jainas (cf. the sculptures found at Kankali-tila near Mathura). Here, however, the symbol as a weapon of Śiva stands for the god himself. In the drawing of Cunningham we find a shaft surmounted by a wheel instead of the *triśūla* as well as a *svastika* on a pillar to the left of the temple. But on the coins of the Irippal find the trident is clear and in some cases the trident is marked with a flying banner. On the reverse of the 'Viśvāmitra type' of coins, to the left of the tree the trident is seen in combination with an axe. It appears that the Audumbaras were fond of trident or trident battle-axe combined, the weapon of Śiva, and in all probability this was their insignia.[73]

(*vii*) *Storeyed temple* : The object which appears on the square copper coins and the silver coin of Dharaghosha is described by Cunningham[74] as a 'pyramidal temple of two or three storeys', the lower storey being supported on four or six pillars or a 'pointed roofed temple'. Allan[75] describes it as a 'two storied doomed stūpa' while K. P. Jayaswal[76] takes the building as a 'mote hall or some other public building' of the tribe. It is clear that it is a structure and due to the presence of the *dhvaja* and the trident battle-axe it appears as a temple.

In the third act of the *Pratimānāṭakam* of Bhāsa, Prince Bharata notices a temple without a weapon (*praharaṇam*) or banner (*dhvaja*) outside it as an emblem of the deity worshipped inside before he enters Ayodhya. Bhāsa thus refers to a custom of placing some object outside a temple symbolizing the god worshipped therein. S. V. Sohoni[77] in drawing our attention to this interesting evidence, comes to the conclusion that the temple, as depicted on some Audumbara coins, must have been a Śaiva shrine as judged by the presence of the two characteristic symbols, trident and battle-axe (or for that matter one symbol if it is regarded as a composite one). Sohoni further suggests that the familiarity of the Indians with the early Roman temple coins through trade led to the adoption of this type. A. S. Altekar[78] supporting Sohoni's suggestion refers to a parallel furnished by *Garuḍadhvaja* (Garuḍa pillar) in front of the temple of Vāsudeva (Garuḍa being the emblem of the god) which was erected by Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador at Vidiśā, towards the end of the second century B. C., the approximate time of the Audumbara temple coins. J. N. Banerjea[79] also endorses the view of Sohoni and describes the temple as 'a Śaiva shrine with double domes and multiple pillars.'

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[73] Incidentally, it may be noted that the same symbol is found on the reverse of a hemidrachm of Zoilus, *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV, 3.

[74] *CASR*, XIV, p. 136. Also *CAI*, p. 68.

[75] *Op. cit.*, p. 122f. [76] *HP*, p. 154. [77] *JNSI*, IV, pp. 55-57.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Thus it appears to be almost certain that the structure represented on the Audumbara coins stands for a shrine. While referring to the coins of the Irippal find, R. D. Banerji[80] pointed out that the building appearing on those coins is a three-storeyed one and slightly different in shape from that appearing on Cunningham's coin. In any case, the building may be regarded as one of the earliest representations of a well-developed temple model. A. K. Coomaraswamy[81] describes the buildings on the Audumbara coins as 'structural shrine or pavilions'. In this connection, he[82] refers to the pavilion with a double-ornamented plinth and enshrining figures of Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsena met with on a coin of Huvishka (Percy Gardner, *CCBM*, Greek and Scythic Kings, p. 150, No. 114, Pl. XXVIII, 20). The Audumbara coins are, however, prior to the coin of Huvishka. Hence they are important for supplying us with the earliest representations of the ancient Indian temples.

The shrines appearing on the Audumbara coins have striking affinities with some early mediaeval temples such as the Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara, the Lad Khan, the Meguti temples and the Pallava *rathas*, particularly those of the square type. They have certain characteristics, commonly associated with the *Drāviḍa* temple style, which emerged in the post-Gupta period.[83]

(*viii*) *Figure of Viśvāmitra*: Cunningham[84] describes the figure on the silver coins of Dharaghosha as that of Śiva. J. N. Banerjea[85] also follows him and takes it to be that of Śiva-Viśvāmitra, Viśvāmitra being one of the appellations of Śiva. Though the trident-battle-axe on the reverse of the coins in question shows Śaiva affiliation of the tribe, in the light of Viśvāmitra's connection with the *udumbara* (fig-tree) and the tribe named after it, the sage-like figure on the coins appears to be that of Viśvāmitra and not of Śiva. Viśvāmitra was indeed the 'patron saint' of the Audumbaras with whom his connection is beyond doubt.

(ix) : As regards the first two symbols occurring on some coins of Class 3, it may be noted that both of them appear in the Pañchāla series (*CCBM*, pp, cxviii-cxix, 192-204). The former symbol appears also on some coins found at Ayodhya (*CCBM*, p. 113) and the latter on a class of Kuṇinda coins (*CCBM*, pp. ci, 159-67). The symbol is undoubtedly a variety of the well-known or which was described by Prinsep as a *jayadhvaja* (see *JASB*, IV, p. 628). Elsewhere (see later) we have tried to explain the nature of the symbols and . The nature of the present symbol characterised by two hooks below is difficult to be explained. Probably it also represents a type of *jayadhvaja* ; or like *svastika* and many other symbols it is invested with some religious significance. Equally difficult is the nature of the other symbol, which may be described as a Brāhmī *ma* with two hooks below. Allan has justly refrained himself from making any such attempt to explain these symbols. As to the other two symbols and , appearing on some coins of Class 3, it may be observed that the latter symbol is probably a solar one while the former is the well-known *nandipada* symbol, and thus both of them may be regarded as auspicious symbols.

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[79] *CHIS*, p. 799.
[80] *Op. cit.*, p. 248.
[81] *HIIA*, p. 45.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[83] *SE*, p. 533.
[84] *CAI*, p. 67.
[85] *DHI*, p. 121.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE AUDUMBARAS

The early history of the Audumbaras is extremely obscure. Przyluski, however, conjectures that they had to bear the brunt of the Aryan aggression, as a result of which there was a division among the tribe.[86] The *Mahābhārata*, according to him, refers to the Audumbaras of the Punjab while the authors of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* intend to imply the Southern Udumbaras. It is true that available evidences, numismatic as well as literary, tend to show that there were more than one section of the Audumbaras, specially when Pliny places the Odombeores on the mouth of the Indus (cf. fn. 16). But the supposition of the division of the tribe due to the Aryan attack is purely conjectural. The literary references to the Audumbaras, on which Przyluski bases his view, are much later than the time of the Aryan infiltration in the Punjab. In the time of the *Śatapatha*

[86] *APP*, p. 24.

Brāhmaṇa, i.e. in about the eighth century B.C., as we have tried to show before, the Audumbaras might have existed probably as a member of the Sālva group. But there is no evidence to suppose that the Sālvas or the Audumbaras were attacked by the Aryans and were, hence, divided into two groups. The Audumbaras appear as an independent tribe not earlier than the time of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, i.e. about the fifth century B.C. In short, nothing definite can be said about the early history of the Audumbaras.

Numismatic evidence shows that the tribe formed an independent state in about the second century B.C. Thus what happened to the Audumbaras between the fifth and the second centuries B.C. is at present unknown.

In this connection, however, we may refer to a theory of Tarn.[87] According to him, Menander, an Indo-Greek king of the second century B.C., extended his dominion not only up to the Punjab but also up to Mathura. Tarn believes that *-ene* of *Kulindrene* referred to by Ptolemy marks it as a Greek province and he thinks further that Ptolemy locates Kulindrene in 'the Upper Beas, Sutlej, Jumna and the Ganges'. *Kulindrene* is obviously connected with *Kuṇinda* of Indian sources. On the basis of the provenance of their coins, the Kuṇindas are assigned to the Upper Beas and the Sutlej. From these arguments Tarn infers that the Kulindrene-Kuṇindas, thus living somewhere between West Punjab and Mathura, were under the Indo-Greek ruler Menander. Tarn further concludes that the Audumbaras, the findspots of whose coins would place them on the Upper Beas and so in a territory contiguous to that of the Kuṇindas, were also included in the dominion of the same Indo-Greek monarch.

Even if for the sake of argument we do not deny the feasibility of the theory of the extension of Menander's empire up to Mathura, it is extremely difficult to prove on the basis of Ptolemy's evidence that it embraced the whole territory to the south of the Himalayas stretching from the Punjab to Mathura. A. K. Narain[88] has tried to show that the place-names ending in *-ene* in Ptolemy's *Geography* do not necessarily indicate them as appellation for Greek provinces. Moreover, Ptolemy has never explicitly stated or implied that his idea of Kulindrene was based on an information gathered in the period of Menander. Hence it cannot be proved that the Kuṇindas and the Audumbaras living in the Himalayan region were subjugated by Menander. In fact, we have coins of the tribes assignable to the second century B. C. and not to the first century B. C., as Tarn believes. Thus the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas ruled independently in a century which saw the rise of Menander and succeeded in maintaining their independence probably till the end of the first century A. D. When they disappeared from the stage of history is not known at present.[89]

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[87] *GBI*, pp. 238-40.

[88] *IGN*, p. 92.

As regards the form of the government of the Audumbaras, nothing can be said with certainty. Jayaswal[90] holds that the tribe was a republican one and it "had an elective king". One must take note in this connection of the expression *raña* in the legend *Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odumbarisa*. This may mean that the leadership of the tribe was assumed by Śivadāsa. What is difficult to explain in this case is the exact significance of the word *Mahādeva.* Allan[91] remarks that the word is used as a regal title ; at the same time he also says that it may have been the name of a ruler specially when we have a silver coin bearing it. P. L. Gupta,[92] however, does not accept the word *Mahādeva* as used in the sense of a regal title on the ground that an expression such as this applied to the god Śiva could not have been used by a tribal leader. Stressing the occurrence of representations of a temple and trident peculiar to Śiva, he[93] suggests "that the word *Mahādeva* refers here to god Śiva himself" and that Śivadāsa's coin, therefore, shows that the coin belonged to the god Śiva, to the king Śivadāsa (or others) and to the Audumbara tribe. In his opinion this interpretation is supported by the coins which bear the legend *Bhagavata Mahādevasa.* As regards this particular legend, Gupta rejects Allan's view that it means 'of Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat'. His suggestion is that the legend should be taken as meaning 'of the almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings'. In support of his suggestion, he cites the cases of the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas who also issued coins in the names of their respective presiding deities. Thus he holds that the Audumbaras, like some of their neighbours, at some stage of their history had set up a theocratic form of government.

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[89] Altekar's supposition that the Audumbaras eventually merged in the Madra republic (see *VGA*, p. 31) lacks positive evidence. As regards the probability of a conflict between the Audumbara chief Mahādeva and Uttamadatta of Mathura, see pp. 54-55. To avoid repitition, the point has not been included in the present section.

[90] *Op. cit.*, p. 154. [91] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

[92] *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 204-05. D. C. Sircar also observes that *Mahādeva* appearing on the Audumbara coins is the name of the great god and so he regards such coins "as having been issued in the names of both the Audumbara king and his tutelary deity," *OH*, VIII, pt. 2, p. 70.

[93] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

Though the conception of dedicating the state to a god and its government being carried on by a human agent or agents was current in those days, as has been shown above, the legend on the Audumbara coins (*Mahadevasa raña Odubarisa*, see pp. 46, 47-49 ; *raña* is, however, absent on the coin illustrated) may be differently interpreted. As I have already suggested (p. 49), the legend concerned refers to the king being identical with the god whom he worshipped, presumably in common with the citizens of the republic. The Audumbara government was not therefore a kind of theocracy as held by Gupta, a view which I previously agreed to (see my *The Audumbaras*, p. 23). The assumption of self-deification by the chief may not have marked any basic change in the form of the government which was a republican one. But at the same time it must be admitted that Mahādeva, the Audumbara chief, was arrogating himself to a position of an overlord rather than that of a mere tribal chief. This was probably a later symptom of political development in the history of the Audumbaras, as is indicated by the coins of Mahādeva.

RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE AUDUMBARAS

The coins of the Audumbaras that bear the device of a structure along with a trident and a battle-axe may afford some help in this controversial matter. As we have already shown, the structure may signify a Saivite temple. The trident and the battle-axe, the former being a special weapon of Śiva, and the names of the issuers of coins such as Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa, are clearly indicative of the Śaiva affiliation of the Audumbaras. The coins that bear the figure of a bull also point to the same conclusion, for the bull probably stands for Nandi, the *vāhana* of Śiva. This combined symbol, i.e. the trident and the battle-axe appears sometimes with Śiva on the reverse of the coins of Vema Kadphises, and the legend on the reverse of his coins is : *Maharajasa rajatiraja Vima Kathphisasa* or *maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisasa tratara*. The same symbol is also seen on the coins of Vāsudeva and Vasu. Passingly it may be noted that a custom of issuing coins with the representations of deities and their symbols by kings and tribal chiefs having regard for those deities was not uncommon in ancient India. For instance, Samudragupta, who was a Vaishṇava by faith, while issuing coins in imitation of those of the Late Kushāṇas replaced the trident-battle-axe symbol of the Kushāṇa species by the Garuḍa symbol, the former and the latter symbols respectively being the Śaiva and Vaishṇava ones. The replacement of the hill symbol with a crescent above, possibly a Śaiva symbol, by the Garuḍa symbol on Chandragupta II's silver coins, struck in imitation of those of the Western Satraps may be regarded as another illustration on the point. In short, the names of the kings like Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa and the trident-battle-axe symbol are enough to justify the inference that the Audumbaras, at least a section of them, were of Śaiva faith. And probably at some stage of their history the Audumbaras issued coins in the name of their god, Mahādeva.

The Audumbaras were advantageously situated on the great route of commerce which through Sākala, Agrodaka and Rohitaka ran from Takshaśilā into the Gangetic valley. It was a famous route from Magadha to Kasmir.[94] Besides, their territory stood on the openings of several Himalayan valleys serving as natural intermediaries between the mountains and the plains. It is to be noted that Pathankot, where a number of coins of the tribe were found, being the junction of the commercial routes from Chamba, Nurpur and Kangra, was an important commercial centre. J. Przyluski[95] relating the story of the cloth of Kodumbara as found in some ancient texts like the *Milinda Pañha* and the *Vessantara Jāṭaka* has attempted to show that the Udumbaras or the Audumbaras thrived for their trade in this type of precious cloth. The Audumbaras may have grown prosperous through the sale of woollen goods manufactured by them in the markets of the plains.[96] Pathankot is still a well-known centre for the production of woollen goods and shawls. The economic affluence of the Audumbaras is also attested by Buddhist texts like the *Vinaya* (viz. the section called *Chullavagga*). The silver coins of the tribe, though not many in number also show that they were one of those few ancient Indian tribes issuing silver coins, whose financial position may be presumed to have been sound.

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[94] J. Przyluski in his *La Le´gende de l' Empereur Aśoka* (p. 10 f) has, however, shown that the merchants of ancient India contributed in the diffusion of Buddhism along the great commercial routes of India, notably on the route which ran from the lower valley of the Ganges to Kasmir, through Mathura. According to him, before the beginning of the Christian era, "the capital of the Udumbaras and the city of Aggaḷapura were recognised as the citadels of Buddhism in the north-western regions", see *APP*, p. 12. Further, he conjectures that the word *Meṇḍhaka* of the *Divyāvadāna*, corresponding to Meṇḍaka in Pāli, which means 'ram' may recall 'Aja' (which means he-goat) of the name of Ajamitra, a king of the Audumbaras (*ibid.*, p. 12, fn. 27). But such a conjecture is hardly tenable. *Ajamitra* of the coins in question seems to have been the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *Āryamitra*. So far as the coins of the Audumbaras are concerned, they do not reflect the affiliation of their issuers to Buddhism, as Przyluski thinks.

[95] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

[96] The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1886) refers to a 'considerable shawl-weaving industry' in the city of Pathankot (*s.v.*) ; the city was once a principal site of the ancient country of the Audumbaras.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE AUDUMBARAS : THEIR SOCIAL POSITION

Though K. P. Jayaswal[97] takes most of the republican peoples of the Punjab and Sind on the basis of the evidence of the Greek authors as belonging to the 'perfect and pure Aryan type of the Hindu', it is difficult, however, to describe with any certainty the Audumbaras as such. Jayaswal's view may hold good as to the peoples like the Ārjunāyanas and the Śālaṅkāyanas, their names being 'proof positive of orthodox origin', but the Audumbaras appear to stand on a different ethnic scale. With the help of linguistic evidence, Przyluski attempts to determine the ethnic origin of the Audumbaras. He[98] says : "*Udumbara,* Sanskrit name of *Ficus glomerata*, became part of a numerous series of words borrowed by the Indo-Aryan from the Austro-Asiatic. Udumbara means at the same time, a country of the Punjab and the inhabitants of this region". The word *kodumbara*, the name of a variety of woollen goods, was also the name of the people who manufactured the tissues.[99] *Udumbara*, *Odumbara*, *Kodumbara* may be thus regarded as variants of the same name, applied to an Austro-Asiatic race in the North. To Przyluski these people, ethnically non-Aryan, appear to have been the speakers of an Austro-Asiatic language, who, as Herodotus seems to indicate,[100] were neither Aryans nor Dravidians. Przyluski[101] has placed them particularly in the marshy regions where Pliny later on located a people called the Odombeores, presumably a section of the Audumbaras, who migrated from the north to Kachh on the sea coast.

In this connection it may be added that the name of the Adamviras or Admera section of the Johiya Rajputs is reminiscent of the name of the Audumbaras. In the modern community of the Gujrati Brahmins, again, a branch of the Audumbara caste exists. It will not be unreasonable to conclude, therefore, that in the Adamvira-

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[97] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

[98] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] III. 98-102.

[101] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

Admera Rajputs and in the Audumbara Brahmins of Gujrat, the tribe under discussion has left its descendants.[102]

Przyluski is of the opinion that the Indo-Aryans had penetrated into the centre of the Austro-Asiatic masses and proceeded slowly towards the south-east and he is thus almost certain of the ethnic affiliation and the language of the Audumbaras. According to him,[103] the Audumbaras had "close affinities with the Kol populations (or Munda), who even to this day subsist in Chhotonagpur region". But it is risky to settle the question of their ethnology on the basis of a word or two. It is possible to answer such questions with the help of numismatic and other evidence of a more reliable nature.

Like the view of Jayaswal, the theory of Przyluski is also of the nature of a hypothesis and therefore cannot be accepted as certain. The history of the Audumbaras is, however, to be deduced from their association with Śiva[104] and from references to them in early Brahmanical texts as well as from the distribution of their coins and their peculiarities. On the basis of available evidences it appears that the Audumbaras, even if they were foreigners, were absorbed into the Indian population with the passage of time and became fully Hinduised. Patañjali's reference to the Udumbaras (a variant of the Audumbaras) together with the Bodhas[105] as belonging to the Kshatriya order is a positive point in this direction.

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[102] *CAGI*, p. 281. Adamvira or Admera, one of the three sections of the Johiya Rajputs (generally taken to be identical with the Yaudheyas of old days), are the inhabitants of the Punjab and hence the name *Adamvira* or *Admera* may be a corruption of *Audumbara*. For the Gujrati Brahmins of the Audumbara caste, see *HP*, p. 154.

[103] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[104] Śiva by the first century B. C. when the Audumbaras flourished was incorporated into the Brahmanical pantheon as a result of an amalgam of the Vedic Rudra and the non- Aryan Śiva. A pre- and non- Vedic prototype of Śiva of later days in his Paśupati aspect is recognised in the well-known figure borne by a few Indus seals.

[5] II. 4. 58. Bodhas belonged to the Sālva group and lived somewhere in the eastern district of the Punjab, see *IPP*, p. 75.

CHAPTER 5

THE KULŪTAS

BEFORE the discovery of eleven square copper coins at Taxila,[1] only one round copper coin of the Kulūtas, now belonging to the collection of the British Museum, was known to exist. It was found by Cunningham[2] who unfortunately has not recorded its exact provenance in his work. But since he includes it among the coins of the Audumbaras it appears that he found the coin in question in the Kangra district of the Punjab, the findspot of the species of the Audumbaras and others. Cunningham[3] reads the Brāhmī legend appearing on the obverse of the coin as *Rājña Koputasya* (or *Koptanasya*) *Vīrayaśasya* and thus he fails to assign the piece to the Kulūtas, so well-known to ancient Indian literatteurs as we shall find later on. He doubtfully places it among the Audumbara coins. Rapson[4] accepts Cunningham's reading and explains the meaning of *Kopūta* as 'very pure'. Credit goes to Bergny[5] for the almost correct reading of the legend which according to him should be *Rājña Kolūtasya Vīrayaśasya* and thus he traces in the legend the numismatic corroboration of the existence of the tribe. Rapson[6] later on accepted the reading offered by Bergny. The copper pieces discovered at Taxila[7] now show that the form of the tribal name should be *Kulūta* and not *Kolūta* as suggested by Bergny. Still thanks should be offered to Bergny for his reading *Kolūta* which is not far from *Kulūta.*

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[1] *Taxila,* I, pp. 170-213 ; II, pp. 787, 820, 841 ; III, Pl, 243, Nos. 252-57. It may be noted here that an up-to-date work like the *Comprehensive History of India,* II (1957) does not take any notice of these copper coins found long ago. Thus on p. 136 of the book we find comments like 'the only known coin of the former' (i.e. the Kulūtas), and 'coins of Vīrayaśa still remain the only definite evidence for the history of the Kulūtas' on p. 256. There is again a mistake in the use of plural in the '*coins* of Vīrayaśa', for, before the discovery of Taxilian pieces, unnoticed by such scholars, only one coin of the Kulūtas was known to exist which is now in the collection of the British Museum for which see *CCBM,* p. 158, Pl. XVI, 4.

[2] *CAI,* p. 70, Pl. IV, 14. Cunningham seems to have procured it in the 'northern Punjab beyond Lahore', *ibid.,* p. 65.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *JRAS,* 1900, p. 125.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 415 ; *CHI,* I, p. 529.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 429.

[7] *Taxila,* II, pp, 787, 820.

The coin found by Cunningham which now belongs to the collection of the British Museum is, to repeat, made of copper and round in shape. Marshall's[8] statement that "the only other known piece of the Kulūtas being a round silver drachm of Vīrayaśa, from the Cunningham collection now in the BM" is not correct. Marshall[9] is also wrong in supposing that all the Taxilian pieces belong to Vijayamitra although he says elsewhere[10] in his work that the Kharoshṭhī legend on the coin being (*Ra*) *ña Kulutasa Viraya*—, there need not be any doubt that it must be assigned to Vīrayaśa. In other words, the coin included by him as among those of Vijayamitra, appears in fact not to be a coin of Vijayamitra but of Vīrayaśa. Again, in the legend on another coin (legend read by Allan) he[11] recognises the name of a third ruler, Ārya. In spite of these mistakes, one should, however, be grateful to Marshall for his discovery of eleven square copper coins of the Kulūtas which, to use his words, "are quite new both in kind and denomination". The twelve coins of the Kulūtas—eleven Taxilian and one British Museum specimen—support the literary data about the Kulūtas.

ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIBE

The coins of the Kulūtas, referred to above, are placed in the first-second century A. D. (see later). The earliest definite literary evidence regarding the tribe is found in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[12] of Varāhamihira which refers to people of this name in two lists connected respectively with the north-west and north-east divisions of India. Whether these two groups of people of the same name are identical is difficult to be determined.[13] Rapson[14] identifies 'the Kulūtas of the Kulu Valley' with those described by Varāhamihira as people of the north-east division as well as with those who are mentioned by him along with the Trigarttas and Chīnas in one place (X. 11) and the Taṅgaṇas, Khasas and Kāśmīras in another (X. 12) in his work, while the people bearing the name Kulūta mentioned in two places of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (IV. 22 and XVII. 18) with the Madras are, according to Rapson, those of the north-west division. It seems that both the north-western and north-eastern Kulūtas of Varāhamihira were identical, though divided into two groups, one appearing to have been connected with the region now known as the Kulu Valley.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 787. Whitehead also describes it as a silver coin, *ibid.*, p. 841. And this mistake of Marshall and Whitehead has been reiterated by a recent Indian writer, see *PIHC*, 1964, pt. I, p. 74f. In answer to a query made by me, G. K. Jenkins, Deputy Keeper, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, kindly informed me on a careful examination of the coin in question : "I can confirm from personal inspection that the coin is copper. I see no traces of silver on the surface and I think there is no reason to suppose that there ever were any. It is simply a copper coin. The weight in grains as given by Allan is 75.7", letter dated 6th February, 1964.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 787.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 841.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 841, coin No. 256 ; cf. his statement : "the name in the Brāhmī legend appears to be Āryasya, so the ruler may be Ārya."

[12] XIV. 22 places the country or people called the Kulūtas in the north-west division while XIV. 29-30 place a country or people of the same name in the north-east division. For other references to the tribe see X. 12 and XVII. 18. See also Kulūtaka, IV. 22 and Kaulūta, X. 11.

In any case, the fact remains that Varāhamihira was familiar with people of the name *Kulūta* and the information furnished by him thus shows that they were well-known in the sixth century A. D., the generally accepted period of his existence. The *Kādambarī*[15] of the same period in Jābāli's story refers to a damsel of the name of Patralekhā, who happened to be a daughter of the king of Kulūta (*Kulūteśvaraduhitā*). Hiuen Tsang,[16] who was in India sometime between A. D. 629 and A. D. 645 states that he visited a country named Kiu-lo-to where he went from She-lan-to-lo, i.e. Jālandhara after having travelled north-east across mountains and ravines, by hazardous paths, for above 700 li ; according to him, the country with an area of 3000 li and surrounded by mountains is rich in medicinal herbs and "gold, silver, and copper are found here in fine drops (crystals) and native copper". What is of interest to note in this connection is that Kulu, the supposed country of the Kulūtas (see later) is even now well-known for mineral wealth.[16a] The seventh-century grammatical work, *Kāśikā*,[17] refers to a people called *Kulūna*, very probably a variant of or a mistake for *Kulūta*. The *Bālabhārata* or *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava*[18] of Rājaśekhara of the tenth century A. D., while describing the victories of Mahīpāla of the Pratihāra dynasty, credits the king with the conquest of the Kulūtas along with the Muralas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Keralas, Kuntalas and the Ramaṭhas. The Chamba copper plate grant of Somavarmadeva and Āsaṭadeva[19] of circa eleventh century A. D. tells us that the dynasties of Chamba and Kulu were related and allied to each other. The name *Kulūta* also occurs in Al-Beruni's *India.*[20] In the *Saṁkshiptasāra*[21] of Kramadīśvara the name appears as *Kuruta*.

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[13] Cf. the statement of Rapson: "Whether there were really two peoples bearing the name Kulūta, or whether, in one case, this form is a wrong reading for some other name, cannot, perhaps be determined", *JRAS*, 1900, p. 534.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] C.M. Ridding's translation, p. 75,

[16] *Si-yu-ki*, Watters' translation, Vol. 1, p. 298.

[16a] Cf. the *Gazetteer* information : "Great mineral wealth exists, undeveloped as yet among the isolated glens", *IG* (edited by Hunter), p. 466.

[17] IV. 2. 133.

[18] I, pp. 7-8 (Nirnayasagara edition).

The form *Kulūna* of the *Kāśikā* takes us back to the *Gaṇapāṭha*[22] which contains a name *Kalūtara* (or *Kalutara*) under the *Kachchhādi-gaṇa*. The word *Kalūtara* may be believed to have stood for *Kulūta*. If this be so, the antiquity of *Kulūta*, the name of the tribe, may be pushed back to the fifth century B. C., the time of the *Gaṇapāṭha*. Coming to the second-first century B. C. and A. D., we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[23] and the *Mahābhārata*[24] the mention of a people bearing the name *Kulūta* or names phonetically approximating it. The *Rāmāyaṇa* knows of a people called the *Kolūkas* (variantly *Kaulūtas*) who used to live along with the Aṅgas and others and hence their habitat, as Rapson[25] has rightly pointed out, "must be sought for in Bengal rather than in the Punjab." The other epic, the *Mahābhārata* on more than one occasion, appears to refer to the people either under the well-known name *Kulūta* or under variant names such as *Kaulūta*, *Kulattha*, *Ulūta* and *Ulūka*. The name of the tribe is also met with in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*[26] as *Kulata* and *Kuruta* as well as in the famous seventh-century drama, the *Mudrārākshasa*[27] in the form of *Kaulūta* (reminiscent of the *Ramayaṇic* name), which is, however, an adjective of *Kulūta*. Another form of the name, *Kulūka*, is met with in the well-known grammatical work, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*,[28] ascribed to Bhoja who flourished in the eleventh century A. D.

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[19] *ASR*, 1902-03, p. 255f; also *IA*, 1888, pp. 7-13. It is said in the inscription that Somavarmadeva "was asked the favour of bestowing loyalty, in return for services rendered or to be rendered, by his kinsman, the lord of Kulūta".

[20] Sachau's translation, Vol. 1, p. 303.

[21] See *Gaṇapāṭha* on 'taddhita' rule, 594.

[22] IV. 2. 133. That *Kalūtara* stands for *Kulūta* seems to be evident from the fact that the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, an elaborate version of the Pāṇinian *gaṇas*, refers to *Kulūta*, chapter 5, verse 327.

[23] IV. 13. 8.

[24] VI. 9. 54 and 66 (Siddhantavagisa edition); VI. 10. 52 (*BORI* edition). The various names of the tribe such as *Ulūka*, *Ulūta*, *Kulattha*, etc. appearing in this epic seem to have grown out of confusion in the reading of the original name Kulūta. The variants may also be due to clerical error, cf. *JBORS*, XX, p, 95f.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 533.

[26] LVII, 49, LVII. 51. *Kuluta* and *Kuruta* are apparent misreadings of Kulūta.

[27] Act IV and Act V (Telang's edition, pp. 48, 207).

[28] IV. 3. 71 (Chintamani's Edition), IV. 3. 70 (K.S. Sastri's Edition).

All these literary evidence, therefore, may be regarded as showing the antiquity and celebrity of the tribe. And since we have identified *Kulūna* of the *Gaṇapāṭha* with the Kulūtas, we may push back the antiquity of the tribe to the fifth century B. C., the probable date of Pāṇini and of the major portion of the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

LOCATION OF THE TRIBE

The foregoing discussion tends to show that the Kulūtas were northerners. The difficulty of the evidence furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa* relating to the location of the Kolūkas or Kaulūtas in Eastern India may be overcome by the assumption that either such a location was due to the imperfect knowledge of the Epic geographer or more probably the people, the geographer knew of, were a branch of the original Kulūtas. Such an assumption is strengthened by the fact that some South Indian inscriptions[29] refer to the Kulūtas and their settlement which seems to have been situated near about Vengi and Utkala. In other words, like other peoples, the Kulūtas also sent offshoots in different directions, eastern and southern India. It is in this light that one may explain the references to two groups of the Kulūtas in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.

That the Kulūtas were originally a people of the Punjab, to use a wider geographical expression, is attested by the *Mahābhārata* which groups them with the peoples like the Kāśmīras, Sindhu-Sauvīras, Gandhāras, Darsakas, Abhisāras, Saivalas, Bāhlikas, Yavanas, Chīnas etc, most of whom are known from other sources to have had connections with the Punjab. A passage in the Great Epic applies a derogatory word *Mlechchha* to the Kulūtas and their neighbours. The *Mudrārākshasa*[30] also looks down upon them as such. Their association with another Punjab people, the Kuṇindas, known from the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and supported by numismatic considerations (as for example, provenances of coins of both of them and symbolical and other interconnections between those coins) alike points to the same conclusion.

The Kulūtas have passed out of history leaving their memory in geography. It is in the tourist-famed picturesque Kulu Valley of the Kangra district of the Punjab that one's imagination may fly back across several centuries to the age-old settlement of the Kulūtas. The original name of the Kulu Valley was, as goes the popular tradition, *Kulānta-pīṭha*,[31] signifying according to Hirananda Sastri 'the end of the inhabitable world', as the Hindus considered it to be the 'last boundaries of civilisation'. The suggested interpretation seems to be hardly tenable. A type of mountains known as *Kulāchalas* or *Kulaparvatas*, described in ancient Indian literature, may be recalled in this connection. The region in question being mountainous, it is probable that its name *Kulānta-pīṭha* has a connection with geographical expressions like the *Kulāchalas* and *Kulaparvatas*. *Kula* of *Kulānta-pīṭha* seems to be a contracted form of *Kulāchala* or *Kulaparvata*. Thus it may be possible to hold that *Kulānta-pīṭha* means a sacred place situated at the end of a mountain (of the *Kula* type.)

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[29] *EI*, XVII, p. 53 ; XXV, p. 244 and fn.

[30] Though the Kulūtas were Hinduized by the end of the first century A. D., Viśākhadatta could not, however, forget their outlandish character, in other words, their foreign origin.

Thanks to Hirananda[32] for furnishing us geographical materials about the Kulu Valley and its environs from a hitherto unknown and unpublished text entitled *Kulānta-pīṭha-māhātmya*, alleged to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Otherwise an unimportant text, the *Kulānta-pīṭha-māhātmya* is, however, of some interest for local topography. As for instance, the extent of *Kulānta-pīṭha*, as given in it, is equal to that of Kulu proper and what is more interesting to note in this connection is that the name *Kulānta-pīṭha* was applied to the tract on the left bank of the Bias, between the Bias-Parbati confluence and the source of the Bias, the latter being its western boundary as late as the first decade of the present century. The connection between *Kulānta-pīṭha* and Kulu proper though not definitely provable, regionally speaking, is still not unlikely.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang visited Kiu-lu-to (the Chinese transliteration of Indian *Kulūta*) in the seventh century A. D. According to him, the country measured 3,000 li, i.e. about 600 miles in extent. Taking 6 lis as equivalent to 1 mile Cunningham gives the measurement as 500 miles. Pointing to a local tradition which says that the ancient kingdom of Kulu included Mandi and Suket on the west, and also a large tract of territory to the south of the Sutlej, Cunningham[33] observes that 'the frontier measurement of 500 miles' as given by Hiuen Tsang 'may be very near the truth'. Whatever the actual measurement may have been, the name Kiu-lu-to definitely stands for ancient *Kulūta* and its modern abbreviated form *Kulu*.

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[31] There are other popular forms of the name. The name *Kulu* is sometimes connected with Sanskrit *Kaula* meaning *devī*-worshippers. Sometimes the name is traced to the caste names *Kol* and *Koli*, see *ASR*, 1907-08, p. 260.

[32] *ASR*, 1907-08, p. 264.

[33] *CAGI*, p. 163.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE KULŪTA COUNTRY

As regards the topography of the Kulūta country, some help may be obtained from the *Kulānta-pīṭha-māhātmya*, referred to above. Though a late text, materials supplied by it may be utilised for a study of local topography. It describes Kulānta-pīṭha (Kulūta country) as lying to the north-east of Jālandhara and south of Hemakūṭa mountain, measuring ten *yojanas* (about 90 miles) in length and three *yojanas* (about 27 miles) in width, with the sacred place of Vyāsa to its north and the Bandhana mountain to its south, the river Bias to its west and the Paśupati (Śiva) to the east. The deity presiding over the valley is said to be *Śavarī*, Indrakīla the principal hill, the *saṅgama* or confluence of the Bias and the Parbati river being the chief sacred place of the land where Śiva fought with Arjuna in the guise of a Śavara. Hirananda takes Hemakūṭa mountain as the *Sīmāparvata* of the Purāṇas (i.e. a boundary mountain). Pir Panjal range, in his opinion, being the northern boundary of Kulu, Hemkūṭa, may mean the snowy peak of the said range. This is the source of the Bias, known as Bias Kundi where we may look for the site of *Vyāsatīrtha* of the text. Indrakīla in the above account may represent the well-known mountain in the same range lying to the south of the Hamta. It is nearly 20,000 feet in height. The element *kīla* in the name may be due to its wedge-like shape. Enormously rich in legends and traditions of interest, Kulu Valley has got some shrines which are associated with sages and heroes of the epics. There is a cave which is believed by the local people as one-time resort of Arjuna in his days of asceticism when Śiva appeared to him in the guise of a savage *kirāta*. The *Kulānta-pīṭha-māhātmya* seems to refer to the same story about Śiva and Arjuna.

COINS OF THE KULŪTAS

Coins of the Kulūtas may be divided into the following classes:

Class 1

In this class are included coins bearing the name of a Kulūta chief (or king), Vīrayaśa. These coins may be divided into two varieties. On Variety B some symbols occurring on Variety A do not appear. Hence the division.

Variety A

Obverse : Wheel surrounded by a circle of dots. The triangle-headed symbol and the *nandipada*.

Circular legend in Brāhmī :
Vīrayaśasya rājña Kulūtasya

Reverse : An elaborate *nandipada* symbol.
Traces of a legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Raña (*C.N. 37*)

Variety B

Obverse : Types indistinct but traces of *nandipadas* round a circle. Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
(*Ra*) *ña Kulutasa Viraya* (*śasa*)

Reverse : Defaced. (*C.N. 38*)

N.B. Instead of taking the side of the above coin with a Brāhmī legend (now gone) as the obverse, we have taken the side with the Kharoshṭhī legend, because of its better preservation, as the obverse.

Class 2

Obverse : Six-arched mountain surmounted by standard, right svastika and triangle-headed symbol.
Legend in Brāhmī :
(*Rājña Kulū*) *tasya Vijayamitrasya.*

Reverse : Shaft surmounted by *nandipada* in railing, circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas* as in Class 1, Variety B, conventionalised lotus. and ♉ symbol.
Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
(*Ku*) *lutasa Vijayamitasa.* (*C.N. 39*)

Class 3

Obverse : Same as above.
Brāhmī legend : *...ya...*

Reverse : Same as above, but the order of symbols is different.
Legend in Kharoshṭhī : (*Sa*) *chamitasa* (*?*). (*C.N. 40*)

Class 4

Obverse : Same as above.
Legend in Brāhmī :
......Āryasya.

Reverse : Same as above, but tree-in-railing in place of *nandipada.* Kharoshṭhī legend is effaced. (*C.N. 41*)

INTERPRETATION OF DEVICES AND SYMBOLS

The devices and symbols on the Kulūta coins are: (*i*) wheel surrounded by a circle of dots, (*ii*) triangle-headed standard, (*iii*) so-called Nāga symbol, (*iv*) six-arched object, (*v*) circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas*, (*vi*) tree-in-railing and (*vii*) lotus, *svastika* and other symbols.

(*i*) *Wheel surrounded by dots*: The symbol prominently appears on the British Museum specimen. Symbols of this character were regarded by earlier scholars like Foucher, Theobald and others as Buddhistic in origin. But such symbols were sacred also in the eyes of the Hindus and the Jainas. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[34] describes the ritual of the turning of a wheel placed on a post in a sunwise direction which brings great merit to its performer. In the present case the symbol may be explained as a symbol *par excellence* of the Pauranic Vishṇu demonstrating in a tangible form his connection with his Vedic counterpart, an aspect of the Sun.[35] Hence the present symbol may be interpreted as a solar one.[36] It is not a *dharmachakra* as Allan[37] wants us to believe. A variant of the same symbol may be noticed on the reverse of the copper coins of Achyuta, one of the kings reported to have been exterminated by Samudragupta.[38] Interesting light is thrown on the subject by the *Sāmbapurāṇa*[39] where it is stated that when there was no image of the Sun-god, the practice was to worship him through the medium of a circular symbol (*maṇḍala*). The wheel being circular in shape may be regarded as the representation of the Sun-god in the *maṇḍala* form.

(*ii*) *Triangle-headed standard*: A 'curious symbol', in the words of Rapson,[40] it occurs on a number of ancient Indian coins such as those of the Uddehikas (see later) and others and on coins found at

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[34] Attention to this ritual has been drawn by A. C. Banerji, *JBORS*, XX, p. 180.

[35] *DHI*, pp. 131-32.

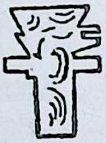
[36] Such a symbol appears to D. B. Spooner as appropriate for the sun-worshippers of Iran, *JRAS*, 1915, p. 412.

[37] *CCBM*, p. c.

[38] It may be noted here that on the coins of Achyuta the wheel symbol may be believed to have stood for the *Sudarśanachakra* of Kṛishṇa, another name of the Lord Vishṇu. What is of interest is that the name of the issuer, Achyuta, is one of the twenty-four names of Para Vāsudeva, one of the forms of the Lord Vishṇu. For coins of Achyuta, see *CCBM*, pp. 117-19, Pl *XIV*. 1-5; *CCIM*, pp. 188-89. Pl. XXII, 9.

[39] Cf. *na purā pratimā hyāsīt pūjyate maṇḍale raviḥ | yathaitan maṇḍalaṁ vyomni sthīyate savitus tadā | | evameva purā bhaktaiḥ pūjyate maṇḍalākṛitiḥ* | XXIX. 2-3.

[40] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 100.

Ayodhyā (*CCBM*, p. 134), Kauśāmbi (*CCBM*, p. 153) etc. On a class of coins found at Eran the symbol is put within a railing (*CCBM*, pp. 140-43). A similar symbol occurs on some Andhra coins (*CCBM*, Andhras, Western Ksatrapas etc. p. 6, Pl. 18). Allan has drawn our attention to a disc discovered at Pāṭaliputra[41] which shows a similar object. It is to be noted here that the symbol also appears among other ornaments in a necklace as reproduced in Fergusson's work, *The Tree and Serpent Worship* (second edition, 1873, Pl. III, 4). An ornament of similar shape  described by Smith[42] as 'a gold-leaf cross' was found among the relics from the Piprahwa stupa.

As to the nature and interpretation of this symbol nothing definite can be said at present. Prinsep[43] long ago called it a *jayadhvaja* or the victory-standard, a description which was accepted by Marshall. Theobald[44] who noticed it on some punch-marked coins termed it as 'food receptacle'. Allan [45] thinks that it denotes "some familiar object"—a description that does not lead to any conclusion. S. K Dikshit[46] calls it the 'life symbol' without explaining what it means. S. K. Chakrabortty[47] regards it as an auspicious sign like the *svastika* and attempts to explain it with the help of Havell's *The Ideals of Indian Art* (p. 86) that the equilateral triangle here is the 'symbol of God manifested in the cosmos' and since it stands 'on its apex it signifies expansion, or evolution, and like the *swastika*, the ascending creative force—or life'. In his words, "this may explain its general use but what the two small protruding lines on the right of the triangle represent, cannot yet be determined".[48] The symbol may have had some religious significance which is at present difficult to explain. In this connection, mention may be made of a bead discovered at Kauśāmbi which is at present in the custody of the Allahabad Municipal Museum.[49] The symbol in question occurs on the surface of this bead. As beads are used generally by women for personal decoration, the auspicious character of the symbols appearing on them may be inferred.

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[41] *ASR*, 1912-13, Pl. XLIX, 6.

[42] *JRAS*, 1898, p. 586, Pl. 10.

[43] *JASB*, IV, p. 628.

[44] *Ibid.*, LIX, figs. 120-21.

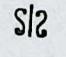
[45] *Op. cit.*, p. XXIV.

[46] *ER*, pp. 51, 52.

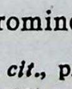
[47] *AIN*, pp. 217-18 ; also *NS*, XLVI, p.88.

[48] *AIN*, p. 218 ; also *NS*, XLVI, p. 88.

[49] *JNSI*, X, p. 43.

(*iii*)  : Something like *S* direct and reversed, the present symbol baffles a satisfactory explanation. Allan[50] describes it as a Nāga symbol. It appears on some punch-marked coins discovered by D. R. Bhandarkar[51] at Besnagar as well as on one of the small antiquities (seal ?) unearthed by D. B. Spooner[52] at Kumrahar. Bloch [53] found some seals bearing emblems of this character and thought that "most of the persons to whom the seals belonged were followers of the Brahmanical creed or Jainas, not Buddhists". And he described such an emblem as an ornamental *triśūla.* J. N. Banerjea[54] on the ground of its occurrence in association with wheel, club and conch-shell regards the symbol as a Vaishṇava one. According to him, the symbol and its variants are to be taken as representing the *śrīvatsa* mark.

(*iv*) *Six-arched mountain* : The six-arched object appearing on the Kulūta coins found at Taxila may be described as a six-arched mountain, though Marshall[55] is inclined to take it as a six-arched *chaitya.* The symbol is surmounted by standard *svastika.* The arched object figuring on the British Museum specimen also belongs to the same species, though it is more elaborate being made of ten arches instead of the usual six. It is also surmounted by an object of two slanting lines and in this respect differs from the six-arched symbol appearing on the Taxilian pieces. Six-arched symbol with or without a finial is not uncommon on ancient Indian coins (*CCBM*, pp. 131, 148, 159-68, etc.). Sometimes the symbol is surmounted by an auspicious mark like the *nandipada.* On the Kulūta coins found at Taxila also the symbol is surmounted by an auspicious *svastika* standard. The object composed of two slanting lines appearing on the top of the symbol concerned on the British Museum piece may likewise be taken as an auspicious mark such as the *nandipada* and *svastika.*

(*v*)  : A composite motif, this seems to have been used as a prominent device by the Kulūtas on their coins and as such it occurs only on a few Ayodhya coins (*CCBM*, Pl. XVI, 11-13, 16). The device is made up of a circle in the centre with four *nandipadas* one on each side. If the central object signifies a territory, the whole device may in that case be understood to mean the territory or the earth protected on four sides by four auspicious marks like the *nandipadas* which may symbolically represent the idea of the earth being protected by four *lokapālas.*

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[50] *Op. cit.*, p. c. An almost similar symbol appearing on Kuṇinda coins is described by Allan as 'cobra symbol', *ibid.*, p. ci.

[51] *ASR*, 1912-13, Pl. XLIX, fig. 4.

[52] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, Pl. LXVI, fig. 19.

[53] *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 105.

[54] *DHI*, p. 290, fn. 2, Pl. II, figs. 11 and 12. While speaking of one of its variants on Kuṇinda coins, Banerjea categorically calls it 'the *śrīvatsa* mark', *JNSI*, XXII, p. 45.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 820.

As to the other symbols such as the tree-in-railing (the worship of *deodar* in the Kulu valley may be recalled), lotus, *svastika*, *nandipada* and the taurine symbol, they occur frequently on early Indian coins. All of them may be believed to have been invested with religious significance. On the British Museum coin of the Kulūtas the *nandipada* is elaborate and prominent. Coins of the Kulūtas discovered at Taxila display the *nandipada* on a shaft-in-railing. Similarly, another auspicious symbol *svastika* has been shown on a standard. The position given to the *nandipada* and *svastika* on a shaft or a standard may thus show that the Kulūtas regarded these symbols as very sacred.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

The round copper coin in the collection of the British Museum weighs 75.7 grains. Marshall, however, has not recorded the weights of the square copper coins discovered by him at Taxila. But he has informed us that those copper pieces "are exceptionally heavy".[56] According to Allan,[57] the unusual weight of the British Museum specimen may be taken to have represented that of "a didrachm of the standard of later Greek and Persian kings of India, who do not, however, strike this denomination". It is slightly heavier than a ½ *paṇa* piece.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINS

Before the discovery of eleven copper coins of the tribe at Taxila, only one coin of the Kulūtas belonging to their king Vīrayaśas was known. The British Museum specimen has symbolical relation with the Taxilian pieces ; for example, a wheel occurs on the obverse sides of both the British Museum piece and Taxilian coins though in the British Museum piece the wheel is surrounded by a circle of dots while on the Taxilian coins it is surrounded by four *nandipadas*. The triangle-headed symbol, a popular one, occurring on the obverse of the British Museum specimen makes its appearance on the reverse of the coins found at Taxila and the arched mountain symbol with a difference in number of arches, is common to the reverse of both the series. The British Museum coin of Vīrayaśas has a symbol on its reverse which was perhaps present also on the copper coins of the same king hailing from Taxila (Class 1, Variety B).

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[56] These copper coins may be believed to have been classed with two heavy-weight Kuṇinda coins specially in view of the fact that the Kulūta coins bear some resemblances with the Kuṇinda coins.

[57] *Op. cit.*, p. c.

These coins of the Kulūtas are found to have legends in both the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī alphabets. The characters of the Brāhmī and the Kharoshṭhī of these legends tend to place all the coins in the first century A. D., or round about A. D. 100. The simultaneous use of Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī also shows that these coins cannot be far, in point of time, from a class of silver coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas of the first century B. C. (or the latter part of the second century B. C.) which likewise contain biscriptual legends. Also the language used in the legends being practically Sanskrit, the Kulūta coins may be placed after the biscriptual silver coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas which have legends in Prakrit rarely with a tinge of Sanskrit. While determining the date for the British Museum specimen (at that time it was a solitary coin of the tribe), Rapson,[58] pointing to the curtailment of the Kharoshṭhī legend of the unique Kulūta coin, observed that "the importance of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet tends to diminish as time goes on" and in favour of his remark referred to the full Kharoshṭhī legends of the earlier biscriptual coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas. This particular argument of Rapson relating to the date of the Kulūta coin lost its weight when more Kulūta coins with longer Kharoshṭhī legends were discovered at Taxila, the legends being almost as full as those occurring on the Audumbara and Kuṇinda species ('almost full' because most of the coins are corroded).

On the basis of the legends, therefore, the coins of the Kulūtas are assignable to the first century and the early years of the second century A. D.[58a] The date is fortunately supported by stratigraphical evidence, for Marshall[59] informs us that his coins were discovered in Block I of the Sirkap site—ten in one group and the other a few feet away and he surmises that these coins were buried in the early Kushāṇa period. We have no reason to doubt, therefore, that the Taxilian pieces of Vijayamitra at least are assignable to the first century A. D. And it is to the same period belongs the British Museum specimen, which is almost similar to them except in shape, though Marshall[60] is inclined to place his coins a few decades earlier than the British Museum piece.

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[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

[58a] D. C. Sircar's view that Vīrayaśas flourished in the latter half of the third century (*AIU*, p. 161, fn. 2) is untenable.

[59] *Op. cit.*, pp. 170, 213.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE KULŪTAS

The coins of the Kulūtas have disclosed the names of two kings, Vijayamitra and Vīrayaśas. Marshall[61] has sought, on the basis of Allan's reading, to detect the existence of two other rulers named Satyamitra and Ārya. The reading of the Kharoshṭhī legends on the coins included in our Classes 3 and 4 may indicate the existence of these two rulers, but on account of the almost illegible reading, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion about their correct names. The Kulūtas had a monarchical form of government, as proved by the application of the words *raña* (in Kharoshṭhī) and *rājña* (in Brāhmī) to the names of persons such as Vijayamitra and Vīrayaśas.

The name Vijayamitra reminds us of Viyakamitra (Sanskrit Vīryakamitra) and Vijayamitra of the Shinkot (Bajaur territory, West Pakistan) relic casket inscription of the time of Menander. Another Vijayamitra, known from coins, was the father of a certain Indravarmā who was again the father of Aśpavarma, the latter being a Strategos of Azes II and Gondophernes. The monetary issues of Vijayamitra of the Kulūta tribe and those of the grand-father of Aśpavarmā being of different numismatic conception and type, they cannot be regarded as identical person. Further, Kulūta Vijayamitra was, as we have already seen, flourished in the first century A. D. while his namesake of the numismatic records flourished about a century earlier. Vijayamitra of the Shinkot inscription (taken identical with Viyakamitra by some) was also an earlier ruler and hence was different from his Kulūta namesake.

It is in the course of excavations that the coins of Vijayamitra, Vīrayaśas and other kings of the Kulūtas have come to light. Marshall[62] conjectures that they were buried in the early Kushāṇa period. The findplace of the coins being Taxila, this cannot be a conclusive ground for the supposition that Taxila was under the Kulūta occupation. Archaeological evidence shows that Taxila was under the Śaka-Pahlava rule and subsequently under the Kushāṇas from the first century B. C. onwards.

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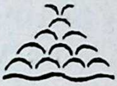
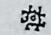
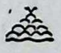
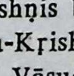
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 787. [61] *Loc. cit.* [62] *Loc. cit.*

Cunningham,[63] Allan[64] and Marshall[65] are inclined to take many of the symbols appearing on the coins of the Kulūtas as Buddhist ones. We, however, like to take the symbol what they interpret as the *triratna* as the *nandipada* symbol. Allan[66] himself describes the symbol appearing on the British Museum specimen as 'an elaborate *nandipada* symbol'. The symbol  has been interpreted by us as the well-known mountain symbol and not as *chaitya* as Cunningham and Marshall have suggested. In favour of this interpretation may be drawn the attention of scholars to the akinness of the symbol in question to similar symbols occurring on other ancient Indian coins (*CCBM*, pp. xxiv, 41 ; lx, lxiii, 21, 26, 27, 47 ; lxv, lxviii, 64, 80, 82 ; xcvii, cxlix, 159-68, 270-75 etc.). The symbol  , which has been described by Marshall[67] as 'circlet surrounded by four *trīratnas*', appears to us to be 'a circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas*'. Marshall's[68] description of another symbol as a 'shaft surmounted by *triratna* in railing' also appears to be a 'shaft surmounted by *nandipada*'. A comparison of the symbol  occurring on the reverse of the British Museum piece with a similar symbol appearing on the reverse of the Taxilian coins will show that Cunningham's and Marshall's description of the symbol as Buddhist *chaitya* is wrong. The  which appears on the obverse of the British Museum specimen has been described by Allan[69] as 'an elaborate *dharmacakra*'. A similar symbol also makes its appearance on the British Museum specimen of the Vṛishṇi coinage (see *CCBM*, p. 281, Pl. XVI, 5) and Allan[70] describes it as an 'elaborate dharmacakra'. But the Vṛishṇis being Brahmanical Hindus having association with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, the symbol probably stands for the Sudarśanachakra of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. The symbol on the Kulūta coin is similar to the symbol referred to above and is not, therefore, a *dharmachakra* of the Buddhists, but a symbol connected with Hinduism.

The above discussion, therefore, shows that the symbols on the Kulūta coins may not be described as definitely Buddhistic symbols. Marshall[71] while referring to the Buddhist *triratna* and *chaitya* symbols detected by him on the Kulūta coins, strikes a note of caution saying that though the symbols "were employed by the Buddhists", it "does not necessarily imply that Buddhism was at this time the prevailing religion among the Kulūtas". The probability of the Kulūtas being Hindu with animistic beliefs (cf. their veneration for tree- and serpent- deities as indicated by tree and serpent motifs appearing on their monetary issues)[72] or being Hinduized in the course of time is enhanced by the name Vīrayaśas adopted by one of their kings and the name reminds us of Vīrayaśas of the Jain tradition[73] and Vishṇuyaśas of the Vaishṇava mythology, the latter being the name of Vishṇu in his Kalki incarnation.

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[63] *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
[64] *Op. cit.*, p. c.
[65] *Op. cit.*, pp. 787, 820.
[66] *Op. cit.*, p. c.
[67] *Op. cit.*, p. 820.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Op. cit.*, p.c.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. clv.
[71] *Op. cit.*, p. 787.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE KULŪTAS

Both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mudrārākshasa* agree in describing the Kulūtas as *Mlechchhas.* The *Mahābhārata* describes the Kulatthas, i.e. Kulūtas (Kulatthas, Kulūtas, Ulūtas, Ulūkas all referring to the same people, see *fn.* 24) as highly barbarous (*dāruṇa Mlechchhajātayaḥ*, VI. 9. 66) and groups them with the Yavanas, Chīnas, Kambojas, etc. in one place and in the other groups the Kulūtas, i.e. the same people with the Abhisāras, Saivalas, Bāhlikas, etc. The Great Epic[74] elsewhere mentions the Ulūkas along with the Kitavas or Kaitavyas whom Moti Chandra[75] believes to be the representatives of the people of modern Suket, included in the Kulu Valley. The *Mudrārākshasa* associates the people with the Kāśmīras, Saindhavas, Chīnas, Hūṇas, etc. while the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* groups them with the Tukhāras, Tālas, Hālas, Madras, Lāhadas, etc. in one case and with the Kīras, Kāśmīras, Abhisāras, Daradas, Taṅganas, Sairindhas, Kirātas, Chīnas, etc. in the other.

The general sense of the term *Mlechchha* which is applied to the Kulūtas in different texts is 'foreigner', therefore, outside the pale of

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[72] In Kulu, the land of the Kulūtas in ancient period, snake worship is still popular as is attested by many temples dedicated to serpents alleged to have divine powers. Describing these temples A. F. P. Harcourt says: "The effigies of serpents are profusely cut either in wood along the lintels of the doorways or iron casts of the same being screwed into the woodwork of the doorposts," quoted in the *History of the Panjab* by Syad Mahammad Latif (Reprint, New Delhi, 1964, p. 43). Like snakes, trees like *deodar* are also regarded as objects of worship in the hills of Kulu.

[73] It is interesting to note that among the eight chief kings ordained by Lord Mahāvīra himself, one had the name of Vīrayaśas, see *Thāṇāṅga*, VIII. 621.

[74] I. 177. 20.

[75] *GESM*, p. 55.

Indian culture.[76] If Rapson[77] is right, the term was "particularly applied to those foreign invaders who had settled on the northern frontiers". It may be conjectured that the Kulūtas were Mongoloid peoples who entered India from the north-east and were eventually amalgamated with the local population.[78] Thus though the Kulūtas may have been barbarian or outlandish[79] like many other ancient tribes, they came to be Hinduized as is indicated by their adoption of Indian names like Vīrayaśas and Vijayamitra as well as Hindu symbols on their coins.

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[76] The term *Mlechchha* appears to be first mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2.1.24) as *Mlekha*. The said *Brāhmaṇa* uses the term in the sense of a 'barbarous language' and says that such language is spoken by the Asuras (see *SBE*, XXVI, p. 32). In the Christian centuries, the term was used to designate, without any distinction, all foreigners and, hence, from indigenous viewpoint, 'barbarian peoples'. The Jaina *Prajñāpanā* also mentions two classes of peoples—*Milikkha* and *Ariya* (see *IA*, XX, p. 374). For further references to the Mlechchhas, see *ESAI*, pp. 132-33.

[77] *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

[78] The Chīnas who are usually mentioned along with the Kulūtas are no doubt a people of Mongolian stock. Like them the Kulūtas also seem to have belonged to the same stock. Ethnically speaking, many of the northern, specially north-eastern peoples, belong to the Mongolian stratum of the Indian population.

[79] The Kulūtas lived at 'the end of the last boundaries of civilisation', if the word *Kulānta* is taken in that sense.

CHAPTER 6

THE KUṆINDAS

THE EARLIEST coins of the Kuṇindas discovered at Behat near Saharanpur in Uttarprades were etched by Prinsep[1] in his own hands in 1838. Afterwards the coinage of this tribe was studied by Cunningham, E. Thomas, Rajendralal Mitra, Theobald and others. The credit of the correct reading of the name of the tribe as *Kuṇinda* goes to Cunningham.[2] Rajendralal, who like Thomas read *Kuṇanda* on the coins concerned, corrected himself in the postscript of his article on the Kuṇinda coins in 1875 and added that he had traced the name of the tribe in Indian literature.[3]

Since the discovery of a few coins at Behat in 1837 more coins of the tribe have come to light from Jwalamukhi,[4] Karnal,[5] Sunit,[6] Tappa Mewa[7] and Rupar[7a]—all in the old Punjab. While at Tappa Mewa 54 silver coins of the tribe have been discovered, at Rupar during the course of excavations a few Kuṇinda silver coins have been met with in layers datable to c. 100 B. C. to A. D. 100. Like Behat, a few places such as Sumari, Bhattisera and Dewalgarh, all near Srinagar, a town in Garhwal in U. P., have yielded coins of the tribe from time to time.[8] Thus coins of the Kuṇindas have been recovered from eastern and north-eastern Punjab and the north-western parts of U. P.

ANTIQUITY AND HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

On the coins the name of the tribe appears as *Kuṇinda*, while in literature the name commonly found is *Kulinda* with the derivatives

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[1] *PE*, pp. 824, 201, Pls. IV, 1, 3, 6 ; XIX, 16.

[2] Cunningham says that his reading was first published in the *Academy* in 1868, see *CAI*, p. 72.

[3] *JASB*, 1875, p. 89f.

[4] *CASR*, XIV, p. 134.

[5] *PASB*, 1875, p. 85.

[6] *CASR*, XIV, p. 65.

[7] *PASB*, 1893, pp. 11-12.

[7a] *Lalit Kala*, 1955-56, nos. 1-2, p. 128.

[8] *JNSI*, VIII, p. 37. In 1880 a hoard of 1000 coins of the tribe was discovered in the village called Sumari, the old capital of the Rajas of Garhwal, but almost all of them were melted down, *ibid.*, p. 36. From Srinagar Prayag Dayal also procured a few Kuṇinda coins, see *JUPHS*, IV, pt. 2, p. 10.

Kauṇinda and *Kaulinda.*[9] The *Mahābhārata*[10] mentions this tribe on several occasions. In one place of the Epic[11] the Kulindas are mentioned along with the Paiśāchas, Ambashṭhas and Barbaras, all described as mountainous peoples, while in another place[12] they have been stated to have lived on both sides of the river Śailodā and to have sent lumps of *paipīlika* gold (ant-gold) along with other people to king Yudhishṭhira. There is another passage[13] which alludes to the Kuṇindas having many countries. Like the Great Epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*[14] also mentions the Kulindas. In the *Mahāmāyūrī*[15] *Kulinda* appears as the name of a place which was presided over by *yaksha* Ushṭrapāda. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[16] places the tribe in the north-east division with the Kasmirians, Kulūtas and Sairindhras and also speaks about the fate of the Kuṇindas. The Puranic literature[17] is also replete with references to the tribe. The *Geography*[18] of Ptolemy seems to allude to their country under the name *Kulindrene* which, as it says, was situated near the mountainous region where the Vipāśā, Śatadru, Yamunā and Gaṅgā take their rise. Evidently *Kulindrene* of Ptolemy is identical with the country of the Kulindas, variantly known as Kuṇindas.

It appears from a passage of the *Mahābhārata*[19] that the Kuṇindas lived in hundreds of groups (*Kuṇinda-śata-saṁkulam*). Thus it is probable that the tribe was a widely diffused one. Different literary references point to a mountainous region as the habitat of these people. For example, the Great Epic[20] in another passage expressly speaks of a Kulinda prince who used to live constantly in mountains (*parvatavāsanityaḥ*). In this connection mention may be made of the reference to *Kalindendra* as the name of a mountain in Vāgbhaṭṭa's *Kāvyānuśāsana*.[21] The form *Kalinda*, otherwise unknown, may be a mistake for *Kulinda*. In that case this mountain will be found to have been associated with the Kuṇindas or Kulindas, but its location is uncertain although from the reference it seems that it was in the north as it has been grouped with Himalaya and Jalandhara (*Himālaya-Jālandhara-Kalindendra-kila...parvataḥ*). The association of the Kuṇindas with mountainous region is also attested by the findspot of their coins. All these facts thus go to support Cunningham's conclusion[22] that the Kuṇindas "seem to have occupied the hill districts on both sides of Satlej from time immemorial". As their coins have been discovered about Sugh and its neighbourhood between Ambala and Saharanpur, Cunningham[23] is inclined to locate their capital at Srughna (or Sugh) on the west bank of the old Yamuna. Allan seems to be more precise on the point. On the ground of the distribution of the coins (as was known in his time) he[24] concludes that "the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jumna and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej." The area occupied by them, however, seems to have been larger as their coins have also been found in the Garhwal districts in U. P.

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[9] In the *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* published from the *BORI*, Poona, the editors adopt *Kuṇinda* as the correct from with *Kulinda* as a variant, cf, II.23.13 ; 48. 3 ; III. 141. 25.

[10] For various references to them in the Epic, see Sorensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 433. Sometimes in the Epic an alteration between *Kulinda* and *Pulinda* is met with (e.g. II. 23. 14., *BORI* edition).

[11] VII. 119. 14.

[12] II. 52. 3-4.

[13] III. 25. 4. [14] IV. 33. 14.

[15] *JA*, 1915, pp. 52, 101. Also *JUPHS*, XV, pt. 2, pp. 29, 46.

[16] XIV. 31 ; for the Kuṇinda king XIV. 30. For other references IV. 24, XIV. 33.

[17] Cf. *Vāyu* (XLV. 116 ; XLVII, 43), *Brahmāṇḍa* (II. 16. 59, 48 ; 18. 45), *Bhāgavata* (X. 50. 3 ; X. 52. 11), *Mārkaṇḍeya*(LVII. 37) etc. Some manuscripts of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* reads *Kaliṅga* instead of *Kulinda* which Pargiter takes to be an error. See Pargiter's edition of the *MP*, p. 316, fn.

[18] VII. 1. 42.

[19] III. 141. 25. According to Pargiter, the name Kuṇinda 'appears to have comprised a considerable body of hill tribes', *MP*, p. 316 fn.

[20] III. 264. 8.

COINS OF THE KUṆINDAS

The Kuṇindas issued coins both in copper and silver. All of them are round in shape. The silver coins bear legends on both sides and use both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts. Kharoshṭhī legends are rather uncommon on the copper species and on a particular class it is totally absent. However, the coins of the Kuṇindas may be divided into three classes: Class 1 consisting of silver and copper coins of neat fabric with good legends; Class 2 consisting of copper coins of coarse fabric with fragmentary legends; and Class 3 consisting of copper coins with the name of Chhatreśvara-Śiva, presumably the presiding deity of the Kuṇindas. Though the coins belonging to Class 3 do not bear the name of the tribe, they are to be attributed to the Kuṇindas on account of 'the old Kuṇinda type of deer, tree, river etc' on their reverse. Another notable feature of these coins is that they use Brāhmī only. The three classes of the Kuṇinda coins, referred to above, are again to be sub-divided into some varieties according to devices and symbols.

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[21] Chapter 127.

[22] *CAI*, pp. 70-71.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[24] *CCBM*, p. ciii.

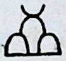
Class 1

Variety A

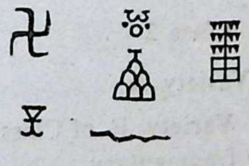
Obverse : Deer to right ; female figure (Lakshmī) standing, sometimes on lotus, facing, holding flower in uplifted right hand.

Above back of deer ;

above horns of deer ;

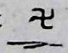
 below deer.

Legend in Brāhmī :
Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasa(i.e.-*sya*) *Amoghabhūtisa*(i.e.-*sya*) *Mahārājasa* (i.e.-*sya*).

Reverse :  Legend in Kharoshṭhī :

Raña Kuṇidasa Amoghabhutisa around. *Maharajasa* below. (*CN 42*)

Variety B

Obverse : Same as above, but  below deer and between deer and figure and for .

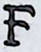
Legend same.

Reverse : Same. Legend same. (*CN 43*)

Variety C

Obverse : Same as above but nothing below deer. Legend same.
Reverse : Same. Legend same. (*CN 44*)

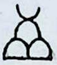
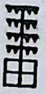
Variety D

Obverse : Same, but  below deer (horse, according to Allan) ; traces of similar legends.
Reverse : Same ; traces of similar legends. (*CN 45*)

Variety E

Obverse : Same, but the position of the deer is different. It is facing to the left. Legend same.
Reverse : Same. Legend same.

Variety F

Obverse : Same as in Variety A, but  absent. Same legend, mostly fragmentary.
Reverse : Same as in Variety A, but sometimes the tree within railing appears with four instead of three branches  Border of dots. No legend. (*CN 46-47*)

Class 2

Variety A

Obverse : Same as in Variety F of Class 1, but the legend is usually very fragmentary.
Reverse : Same as in Variety F of Class 1, border of dots. No legend. (*CN 48*)

Variety B

Obverse : Same. Traces of Brāhmī legend. A symbol like
Reverse : Same. No legend.

Variety C

Obverse : Same. A vase in front of the deer.
Reverse : Same as above. (*CN 49*)

Variety D

Obverse : Same as above. A cross in circle below the deer.
Reverse : Same as above. (*CN 50*)

Variety E

Obverse : Same as above, that is with usual devices and symbols as in Variety A. Imperfect legend.

Reverse : Same as above, that is with usual devices and symbols. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend apparently outside dotted border. (*CN 51*)

Variety F

Obverse : Same. No legend.

Reverse : Same. No legend.

Variety G

Obverse : Same. No legend. A cross in circle before the deer.

Reverse : Same. No legend.

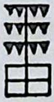
Class 3

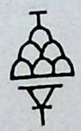
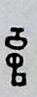
Variety A

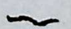
Obverse : Śiva (Chhatreśvara) standing facing, holding trident with axe on shaft in right hand, left hand in *kaṭihasta* pose, leopard skin hanging from left arm ; flower or star behind over his left shoulder.
Legend in Brāhmī :
Bhagavata Chatreśvara Mahātmana(ḥ).

Reverse : Deer left.

above its horns.

 behind it.

 in front. □ below.  above.

 below.

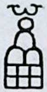
Border of dots. (*CN 52*)

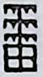
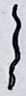
N.B. Cunningham did not notice the flower or star behind over the left shoulder of Śiva on the obverse. As regards the legend, Allan reads *Bhagavata-Chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ* (*op. cit.*, p. ciii). The first word, however, seems to be *Bhagavata.* The last element of the legend has been read by Allan as *mahātraṇa* in the text of his *Catalogue*

(p. 117). It is correctly read by him as *mahātmanaḥ* in the *Introduction* of the same work (p. ciii). Smith writes *mahāmanaḥ* (*CCIM*, p. 170) which is apparently a printing mistake for *mahātmanaḥ*.

Variety **B**

Obverse : Same as above, traces of inscription.

Reverse : Deer left. 

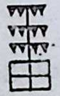
  above.

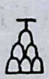
below. (*CN 53*)

Variety **C**

Obverse : Same as above, traces of inscription.

Reverse : Deer right.

 on left.

 on right. (*CN 54*)

Variety **D**

Obverse : Same as above. Similar legend (fragmentary).

Reverse : Similar, but below deer. (*CN 55*)

Variety **E**

Obverse : Same as above. Similar legend (fragmentary).

Reverse : Similar with above.

Variety **F**

Obverse : Same as above. Similar fragmentary legend.

Reverse : Similar without (*CN 56*)

Variety **G**

Obverse : Same. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : below deer.

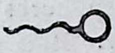
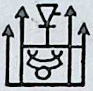
Variety **H**

Obverse : Similar legend.

Reverse : Similar. 88 and star above deer. (*CN 57*)

ALLEGED KUṆINDA COINS

Three silver coins bearing respectively the names of Śivadatta, Śivapālita and Haridatta in Prakrit in large Brāhmī characters were found together 'in Almorah in the Himalaya mountains' in the Kumaon division of the Uttarpradesh.[25] On palaeographical grounds, Allan[26] has assigned them to the latter half of the second or first half of the second century B. C. The name Śivadatta appears also on some coins found at Ayodhya (*CCBM*, pp. 133-34). But from numismatic evidence it is hardly possible to establish any connection between the two Śivadattas.

The three coins are connected with each other by the obverse device, bull before tree-in-railing and the symbol  and the reverse device,  the latter being an altar surmounted by with an elaborate *nandipada* symbol on its face.[27] Built of well-known symbols, the device is found on two uncertain coins illustrated by Allan in his *Catalogue* (p. 288, Pl. XLV, 20). So Allan's statement that it 'is not found exactly elsewhere' (p. lxxxi) is wrong. The present device occupies the centre of the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta and Haridatta, while it is found by the side of a rude figure—human or divine—occupying the centre. The names of the kings in the genitive are inscribed around on the obverse. The use of the two different sibilants, dental and palatal, in the same word *Śiva* of Śivadatta and Śivapālita, 'within so brief a period, is typical of the laxity in their use in early inscriptions'.[28]

The above noted coins have been named by numismatists as 'Almora coins' evidently after their findspot. While Allan[29] does not connect them with any dynasty flourishing during the period represented by these coins, Rapson[30] attributes them to a branch of the Kuṇindas,

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[25] The coins were first acquired by Sir Henry M. Elliot, from whom they passed to the Clive-Bayley collection. And the latter collection was eventually purchased by the British Museum. The coins of Śivadatta and Haridatta were first noticed by Prinsep, *PE*, I, p. 224. For details see *CCBM*, pp. lxxx-lxxxi, 120, Pl. XIV, 7, 8, 9.

[26] *CCBM*, p. lxxx.

[27] The four arrow-like sticks, forming component parts of the device, may be taken as 'long sticks with leaves' indicating the deodar tree, see *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 378.

[28] Cf. Aśoka's edicts, Bühler, *EI*, III, pp. 136-37.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxx. [30] *CHI*, I, p. 529.

'whose territories extended as far as Nepal'. Powell-Price,[81] following Rapson, attributes the coins to the Kuṇindas on typological grounds. Let us now examine these coins and try to find out whether they can be attributed to the Kuṇindas.

The animal on the obverse of the so-called Almora coinage has been identified by Allan[82] with bull but both Rapson[83] and Powell-Price[84] are inclined to take it to be a stag of the type appearing on the Kuṇinda species. A close scrutiny will show that the animal has a prominent hump and a long tail; it must, therefore, be a bull, so commonly found on ancient Indian coins. A look at the animal as depicted on the Kuṇinda coinage will show that it has a comparatively small tail. But the animal, as shown on the coin of Haridatta, has pointed and sharp horns (*CCBM*, Pl. XIV, 9). The humped animal cannot be a stag. It is not true, therefore, that the Kuṇinda type of stag appears on the Almora coinage. Hence the Almora coins cannot be classed with the Kuṇinda coins.

As regards other devices and symbols, the 'altar surmounted by with an elaborate *nandipada* symbol on its face' does not occur on the Kuṇinda coins, though it is seen singly on them. Similarly, the symbol (p. 95, l. 11) described by some[85] as 'a river flowing from a small circular hill' is absent on the Kuṇinda coins, though the wavy line without a circle is a common feature. The composite symbol made of several elements which include a triangle-headed standard is different from the one occurring on the Kuṇinda coins, which has one element, i.e. the triangle-headed standard as common, others being absent. Similarly, the zigzag symbol on Kuṇinda coins having no circle is not the same as the one with the circle to be found on Almora coins. It is true that a human figure appears on the Almora coins, but it is different from a similar representation to be met with on the Kuṇinda coins. Besides, the occurrence of a human figure cannot definitely be regarded as a ground for connecting the Almora coins with those of the Kuṇindas, since this feature is not peculiar to the two groups concerned. It is seen on other coins also. Indeed, in style, fabric and size, the three Almora coins form a class apart. The heavy weights—327, 281 and 304 grains—also form a distinguishing feature. Thus it will not be safe to attribute the Almora coins to the Kuṇindas.

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[81] *JUPHS*, IV, pt. 2, p. 10.
[82] *Op. cit.*, pp. lxxxi, 120.
[83] *RIC*, p. 11.
[84] *Op. cit.*, p. 10.
[85] *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 378.

INTERPRETATION OF THE COIN-LEGENDS

Coins of the Kuṇindas bear two types of legends, one giving the name of the tribe, the other omitting it. Of them the first one appearing on both sides in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī characters with some dialectical variations has been read by scholars as *Rājñaḥ Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa Maharajasa,*[86] and translated either as 'of king Amoghabhūti, the Kuṇinda king'[87] or as '(coin) of Amoghabhūti Mahārāja, rājā, the Kuṇinda' (or 'of Kuṇinda').[88]

P. L. Gupta[89] has expressed his disapproval of these interpretations when he says : "The use of title *Rājā* and *Mahārājā* together appears to me ridiculous. I do not think that both the titles have been used as meaning the same thing, i.e. the king". He suggests that probably "*Rājñaḥ* is misinscribed for the word *Rājānaḥ* and refers to the tribe Rājanya....It is not unlikely that they might have had an alliance with the Kuṇindas also". But to suppose that *Rājñaḥ* is systematically misinscribed for the word *Rājānaḥ* on coins of different metals will be going too far. Again, the Rājanyas are not known from any source to have allied themselves with the Kuṇindas. The simultaneous occurrence of lower and higher titles like *Rājā* and *Mahārājā* on the coins of the Kuṇindas does not present a difficult problem, since a parallel instance is found in the simultaneous use of inferior and superior titles like *Maharaja* and *Rajati* (or *-dhi*) *raja* on a number of coins of foreign rulers in India. Hence 'the use of titles *Rājā* and *Mahārājā* together' is not without a parallel. The legend may be translated as '(coin) of Mahārāja Amoghabhūti, *rājā* of the Kuṇindas.' The occurrence of *rājā* and *Mahārājā* in this legend as translated by us may be supported on a specific consideration. Here the *rājā* may signify that it was the office of the ruler which was held by Amoghabhūti, the *Mahārājā*. It may not be quite proper to use *Mahārājā* in place of *rājā* because it is intended only to refer to the ruler of the Kuṇindas which can be expressed by using the word *rājā*. This *rājā* or the ruler was a *Mahārājā* named Amoghabhūti.

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[86] Prinsep read the legend as *Amapatasatasa Maharaja Kunarasa*, *PE*, I, p. 203. E. Thomas read it as *Maharajasa rājñaḥ Kuṇandasa Amoghabhatisa* (Brāhmī) and *Maharajasa raja K..ndasa Amoghabhatisa* (Kharoshṭhī) and translated the legend as 'of the great king, the king Kuṇanda, the brothers of Amogha', *PE*, p. 204. Subsequently Thomas read *Kraṇanda* instead of Kuṇanda and taking *Kraṇanda* as the name of a sovereign identified him with Xandrames of the Greek writers, *JRAS*, 1865, p. 447f. Rajendralal Mitra read *Rājñaḥ Kunandasa Amoghabhatisa* meaning 'of the great king, King Ḳuṇanda, of unflinching faith', *JASB*, 1875, p. 89,

[87] *CCBM*, p. cii.

[88] *CCIM*, p. 167.

[89] *IHQ*, XVII, p. 204.

Amoghabhūti has been a subject of discussion among scholars. K. P. Jayaswal[40] takes it as an official title meaning 'of unfailing prosperity' and holds that this appellation was in use for centuries (150 B. C. to 100 A. D.). As far as the meaning of the word is concerned, Jayaswal is correct, but his conclusion is not a final one in view of Allan's[41] critical judgment according to which the coins of Amoghabhūti cannot have extended over a considerable period. In support of Jayaswal, it may, however, be pointed out that in view of the discovery of a comparatively large number of silver and copper coins bearing *Amoghabhūti* which show some variations extending over a prolonged period, if not for centuries, the coins were not issued by a king called Amoghabhūti, but by one or more rulers using Amoghabhūti as a title which means 'one of unfailing prosperity'. If this theory is accepted, these coins would be of the nature of those issued by a ruler or rulers, who remained anonymous in the connected legend with the title 'Soter Megas'.

The other legend *Bhagavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ*, written in Brāhmī only, means '(coin) of the almighty Chatreśvara' (a form of Śiva). Since *Chhatra* appears as one of the names of Mahādeva in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 17. 1244, Ray's edition), the intended reading seems to be *Chhatreśvara*, *Chatreśvara* probably being a dialectical peculiarity of the region. Hence M.C. Joshi's[42] attempt to read *Chitreśvara* instead of *Chatreśvara*, explaining the absence of the sign indicating *i* as not an uncommon feature in Indian numismatography, is unnecessary. Though in support of his reading Joshi refers to a *svayambhū-liṅga* (natural rock) bearing the name Chitreśvara 'still being worshipped by the population of Kumaun, which seems to have formed a part of Kuṇinda territory', such reading and explanation seem to be laboured ones and there is no reason to suppose that the sign indicating *i* before *ch* of *Chatreśvara* is regularly absent on all pieces. Besides, the name Chitreśvara is current in other parts of India also. Whether the name is Chatreśvara or Chitreśvara, the fact remains that the coinage in question has a reference to the god Śiva and this is supported by the Śiva-like figure holding in right hand a trident with axe on shaft and displaying in the left hand the *kaṭihasta* pose with some striped object hanging from it, the latter recognised by Cunningham[43] as 'leopard-skin' and by Rapson[44] as 'antelope-skin' (animal skin is characteristic to Śiva). Thus the coinage is dedicated to the lord Śiva, i.e. issued in his name. It may be mentioned here that the word preceding *Chatreśvara* in the legend is not *Bhāgavata* as read by Allan but *Bhagavata*, i.e. *Bhagavataḥ* meaning 'of the lord' who has been called *Chatreśvara* in the legend. Thus Chhatreśvara-Śiva was the presiding deity of the Kuṇinda's as Brahmaṇya-Kumāra was the overlord of the Yaudheyas. It may be concluded then that the Kuṇindas at a certain stage of their history believed in their being ruled by their god, as understood from these coins. Strikingly enough, the idea of a government being run in the name of a god as a practical concept prevails even now at Malana in Kulu *tahsil*, not far from the old Kuṇinda territory : Jamlu, the tutelary deity of this village, is reportedly 'the ultimate authority and the source of power in the political, judicial and religious spheres'.[45] The legend in question thus may be translated as '(coin) of Lord Chatreśvara (i.e. Chhatreśvara, the great souled (one)'.[45]

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[40] *HP*, p. 70, fn. 1. It was Smith who first suggested that the coins bearing *Amoghabhūti* are attributable to different periods, see *CCIM*, p. 161. Jayaswal apparently seems to be influenced by this suggestion

[41] *Op. cit.*, p. cii.

[42] *Bharatīya Vidya*, XXII, p. 49.

INTERPRETATION OF DEVICES AND SYMBOLS

Kuṇinda coins exhibit many devices and symbols on them, most of which are met with on other ancient Indian coins. Some of them are, however, interesting. These devices and symbols discussed are below.

(*i*) *Female figure* : Smith[46] has not made any attempt to identify the female figure on Kuṇinda coins, but according to Allan[47] it represents the goddess Lakshmī. The proposed identification seems to be highly probable owing to the appearance of a deer to the right of the figure symbolizing, as if, the restless nature of Lakshmī. The probability is enhanced by the śrīvatsa symbol (see below) appearing on it, associated with her consort, Vishṇu. It may be noted here that in the first verse of the *Śrī-sūkta*, a late supplement of the *Ṛigveda*, the goddess Śrī or Lakshmī is conceived as a deer.[48] J. N. Banerjea[49] in drawing our attention to this text says: "The deer is proverbially swift-moving and restless, and so is the goddess of fortune and wealth, who is usually described in Indian literature as *chañchalā* (fickle, restless)." But his suggestion that the three-arched mountain symbol with crescent shown below the deer and the six-arched hill device below the *nandipada triśūla* on the reverse, may have certain reference to the king's desire for ensuring the stable residence of the goddess in his realm, seems to be rather conjectural. The coins with the female figure as a device of central interest may be classified as those of 'Lakshmī type' instead of the 'stag type' as named by Smith.

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[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 72. The head of the figure on the Kuṇinda coins in question is adorned with *jaṭās* arranged in the *jaṭābhāra* manner, as we find them arranged on that of Śiva at Gudimallam. For Gudimallam Śiva, see *EHI*, II, pl. III.

[44] *RIC*, p. 12.

[45] M. N. Srinivas (ed.), *India's Villages* (Reprint, 1963), p. 80. It may be noted that the Kanets, the alleged descendants of the Kuṇindas, form the chief element of the population of Malana.

Before their merger in the Indian Union, the States of Travancore and Cochin were administered by their Mahārājās in the name of god Padmanābha. In still earlier days, the later Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa and the Guhilas of Mewar respectively regarded the gods Purushottama-Jagannātha and Ekaliṅga as their overlords.

[46] *Op. cit.*, p. 167. [47] *Op. cit.*, p. ci.

As is well known, Lakshmī is one of the several forms of Durgā. Hence it becomes a phenomenon of interest when a stag (*kalaimān*) is frequently found associated with Durgā in Tamilnad. This is illustrated by the figures of stag with those of lion in the images of Durgā in the Varāhamaṇḍapam and Ādivarāha cave temple at Mahabalipuram and the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram. A fine sculpture of Durgā of the early Chola period, now an exhibit of the Government Museum, Madras, depicts the deer, as it were, as the mount of the Goddess. The reference to deer as the mount of Durgā, in conformity with plastic representations of the deity, in Tamil texts like the *Pāykalaippāvai*, *Kalaippariurdi*, *Tevāram* and *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam* (the last two works are, however, late) may also be recalled here. May we therefore describe the figure as that of Durgā-Lakshmī?

(*ii*) *Animal*: The animal appearing on Kuṇinda coins in association with the female figure, as has been said above, is to be taken as a deer instead of a Himalayan yak (*Poephagus grunneiens*) as was identified by Theobald.[50] If the animal be taken as a deer,[51] it may be said to have represented symbolically and theriomorphically the goddess Lakshmī who, as has been said before, is known to be swift-moving and restless like the deer. It was Smith who on a close scrutiny of the relevant coins found that the animal was surely not a buffalo but 'clearly' a stag of some species. But the deer being a theriomorphic representation of Lakshmī cannot be accepted as the main device, since the goddess herself is anthropomorphically present on the coins.

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[48] The verse of the *Śrī-sūkta* reads thus:

Hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīṁ suvarṇarajatasrajām/
Chandrāṁ hiraṇmayīṁ Lakshmīṁ jātavedo mamāvaha//

[49] *JNSI*, XXII, p. 45; also *DHI*, p. 134.

The ṛishi of this verse invokes Agni to bring to him 'moon-(like) golden (goddess) Lakshmī, who is a golden-coloured deer (adorned with) gold and silver garlands'.

[50] *JASB*, LV, p. 165. The animal appeared to Theobald with its bushy tail (also noticed by Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 162) and unbranched horns as a yak. Later, however, on a British Museum specimen he recognised the lankey tail and branched horns of the animal and hence identified it with a deer.

[51] H. H. Wilson was the first to recognise the animal as a stag, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 415. Theobald elsewhere took it as a buffalo, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

The *Mahāmāyūrī* (verse 32) refers to the Yaksha Ushṭrapāda as the tutelary deity of the Kuṇindas (*Ushṭrapāda Kuṇindeshu*). If this tradition is relied upon, one may recognise in this animal the Yaksha Ushṭrapāda, and in that case the attendant female figure alone may stand for Lakshmī.

(*iii*) This symbol, once believed to have formed part of the horns of the animal,[52] is to be taken as detached from them. Theobald[53] describes it as 'two snakes facing one another' and thinks that in the representation of the symbol 'the cobra is intended', a view which is accepted by Allan[54] also. Cunningham[55] describes it as a 'Buddhist symbol', J. N. Banerjea[56] seems to be convinced that it is a *śrīvatsa* mark, characteristic to Vishṇu, the consort of Lakshmī. In view of the appearance of Lakshmī both in her anthropomorphic and theriomorphic representations its identification with the *śrīvatsa* mark is not improbable, though it is not clear as to why in the present case the alleged *śrīvatsa* mark is somewhat different from the common *śrīvatsa* mark .

(*iv*) This symbol may be described as a square intersected crosswise by a horizontal and a vertical line internally, the latter rising above the square to a height surmounted by a small horizontal line. The square is regarded by some[57] as representing a stupa, which is very doubtful.

(*v*) The symbol is generally supposed to be a representation of the 'tree-in-railing'.[58] It is rather elaborately depicted on Kuṇinda coins and differs from the normal 'tree-in-railing' to be found on other ancient Indian coins. On some specimens the horizontal lines running across the perpendicular line are three in number and on others four. If the perpendicular line is a trunk, the horizontal lines may be taken as the branches of a tree, and in that case the shorter lines hanging at regular intervals from each of the horizontal line will be the drooping leaves of the tree. It seems, however, that the symbol has not generally received the attention it deserves. Smith[59] simply calls it 'a conventional tree within railing'. Allan[60] gives only a line drawing of it without trying to explain what it is. J. N. Banerjea has, however, attempted to understand its nature and significance more thoroughly than other scholars. According to him,[61] it is not a tree with branches and leaves, as supposed by some, but 'a wooden post well-decorated with flower and jewel garlands'—the *Indradhvajasampat*, a royal insignia named after Devarāja Indra, as described in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[62] According to this text, the worship of the ensign in question is destined to bring fortunes to the worshipper. If the symbol is to be explained in the manner as suggested by Banerjea, it will be seen that the Kuṇinda ruler Amoghobhūti who was so keen on offering his devotion to the goddess of Fortune also used another auspicious symbol, viz. the *Indradhvajasampat* on his coins. It is interesting to note that the meaning of his name Amoghobhūti, 'of unfailing prosperity', is well in accord with the present symbol.

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[52] Cf. the view of Thomas, see *JASB*, LV, p. 164.

[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 166. Theobald somewhat fancifully suggests that since the cobras are popularly supposed to associate in pairs, the Kuṇinda coins may be believed to have borne the impression of a pair of cobras.

[54] *Op. cit.*, p. ci. [55] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

[56] *Op. cit.*, p. 45. On the Kulūta coins the dot in the centre of the symbol is replaced by a vertical line.

[57] See *JBORS*, XX, p. 182.

[58] S. K. Chakrabortty describes it as a 'conventional tree in railing', *AIN*, p. 187. Elsewhere he describes the tree as a pine tree, *NS*, XLVI, p. 60, taken by some as 'the dynastic symbol', *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 378.

(*vi*) As regards other symbols, most of them have been noted in connection with the coinages of other tribes. The six-arched object, a symbol of common use, is surmounted by what looks like a capital *T* on Kuṇinda coins. The *T* may represent a *chhatra* or umbrella. The other symbol, a three-arched object, is surmounted by a crescent. The *svastika* and *nandipada* are among the traditionally auspicious signs. The *svastika* invariably occurs above the triangle-headed standard which has been interpreted by J. N. Banerjea[63] as a *vardhamāna* sign. The *svastika* on some species is replaced by a small *F*-like symbol which seems to be 'a variety of some conventionally drawn standard'. The undulating line (generally below the arched object) may be a river or an ornamental design, though Theobald[64] took it to be 'a solitary serpent', identical with the 'Asiatic Python'.

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[59] *Op. cit.*, p. 167 [60] *Op. cit.*, p. 159. [61] *DHI*, p. 46.

[62] XLII. 9-10, cf.

Prīto mahena Maghavā prahaivaṁ ye nṛipāḥ karishyanti |
Vasuvad-vasumantaste bhuvi siddhajñā bhavishyanti ||
Muditaḥ prajāścha teshāḥ bhayarogavivarjitāḥ prabhūtannāḥ.

[63] *Op. cit.*, p. 45. [64] *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

The animal, described by Allan as horse, makes its appearance on some Yaudheya coins also. Another symbol which appears at the hindfoot of the deer on some coins is described by Smith[65] as 'a disk surrounded by dots'. He considers it to be a 'mint-mark'. Since this symbol appears also on some coins of the Audumbaras (see p. 46), it does not seem to have had any special significance to the Kuṇindas.

Chronology of the Coins

The coins of the Kuṇindas have been divided by Allan[66] into two main groups, the first bearing the name of Amoghabhūti and made of both silver and copper, while the other made of copper only with the name of the lord Chhatreśvara (Śiva) inscribed on them. Allan[67] attributes the first group (i.e. the coins of Amoghabhūti) to the end of the first century B. C. while he places the coins of the second group in about three centuries later. Smith[68] also is of the opinion that the coins of the Kuṇindas fall into two periods. He goes a step further when he tries to distinguish the coins of Amoghabhūti from a chronological standpoint. According to him,[69] the coins of Amoghabhūti "vary much in execution, and probably extend over a considerable period". In his opinion, "the name of Amoghabhūti seems to have been continued on the coinage long after his decease". The view about the chronological divisions of the coins of Amoghabhūti has not found favour with Allan, but probably there cannot be any doubt that those coins, so large in number, were in circulation for a fairly long period.

The first group consisting of silver and copper specimens, bearing the name of Amoghabhūti have both Brāhmī as well as Kharoshṭhī legends—a feature shared by them with those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Rājanyas, Vemakas and the Vṛishṇis. The Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī characters as exhibited on those coins point to a date in the first century B. C.[70] The dating is further assisted by the fact that like the biscriptual coins of the Audumbaras, the coins of the Kuṇindas are also found in company with hemidrachams of Apollodotus. Further, some of the symbols used by the Kuṇindas also occur on the coins of the Kulūtas. As Allan[71] points out, the reverse style of the coins of Amoghabhūti recalls that of the Kulūta coinage showing that the interval separating the Amoghabhūti coinage from that of the

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[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 167. [66] *Op. cit.*, p. ci. [67] *Ibid.* [68] *Op. cit.*, p. 161. [69] *Ibid.*

[70] Charuchandra Dasgupta also holds that "from the palaeographical point of view these coins are to be referred to the first century B. C.", *DKS*, p. 65.

[71] *Op. cit.*, p. ci.

Kulūtas could not have been long. As most of the biscriptual coins of the tribes mentioned above are generally assigned to the second or first century B.C. it will not be unreasonable to think that the silver and copper issues of Amoghabhūti are also assignable at least to the first century B. C. The admitted fact of some copper coins of Amoghabhūti being of coarse fabric may have some chronological significance, though Allan[72] does not agree that there is any sign of 'progressive degeneration' in the copper coins in question, which according to him, represent "the ordinary copper coinage of the reign" of Amoghabhūti.

The second group of coins with the name of Chatreśvara may be regarded as later issues. Without any legend in Kharoshṭhī they seem to betray the influence of the larger copper money of the Kushāṇas, specially in respect of metrology. Palaeographically, the inscriptions on the coins use later form of Brāhmī. Compared to the dialect of the obverse legend of the coins of Amoghabhūti that of the legend of the Chatreśvara coins is more alike Sanskrit than that of the former. Indeed, it is almost Sanskrit. Coins of this group are, therefore, definitely later than the coins of Amoghabhūti. Rapson[73] assigns the Chatreśvara coins to the third or fourth century A. D. Allan[74] also suggests almost a similar date, second or third century A. D. Evidently he believes that these cannot be as later as the fourth century A. D.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

The silver coins of the Kuṇindas belonging to the cabinet of the British Museum weigh between 21.0 and 38.0 grains. The coin weighing 21.0 grains is, however, much worn. The Indian Museum specimens of the same metal weigh between 30.8 and 34.2 grains. The copper pieces of Amoghabhūṭi belonging to the collection of the British Museum weigh between 9.5 and 252 grains, while those belonging to the cabinet of the Indian Museum weigh between 24 and 177 grains. The copper coins with the name of Chatreśvara belonging to the collection of the British Museum weigh between 131.0 and 291 grains but the two Indian Museum pieces are 89 and 221.6 grains in weight. Generally the copper coins with lesser weights are corroded or much worn. The copper coin of Amoghabhūti belonging to the cabinet of the the Indian Museum weighing 177 grains, as Smith reports, is not actually a copper coin but a coin made of brass. In any case, an examination of the weights of the silver as well as coppet coins reveals that the Kuṇindas were influenced by weight-standards adopted by foreigners in their numismatic issues.

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[72] *Ibid.*, p. cii. [73] *Op. cit.*, p. 12. [74] *Op. cit.*, p. ciii.

The silver coins of the Kuṇindas are clearly based on the hemidrachms of the later Greek and Śaka kings. While the types of the Kuṇinda coins are purely Indian, the preference for a foreign weight-standard offers an interesting feature. Why did the Kuṇindas adopt a foreign weight-standard? Though the question cannot be answered fully, it has been surmised by Allan[75] that by issuing a native silver coinage the Kuṇindas perhaps wanted to compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver. As regards the copper coins of the Kuṇindas, it is to be noted that they are essentially based on the weight-standard of the Kushāṇas. As Allan observes,[76] "there is just the probability that they are imitations made by early Kushan invaders like the imitations of coins of Hermaeus". The copper pieces of the Kuṇindas influenced by the Kushāṇa weight-standard are to be attributed to a period following the decline of the Kushāṇas. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that there are two copper coins of a larger diameter with the name of Amoghabhūti in the cabinet of the British Museum (see *CCBM*, p. 288). The Chatreśvara coins made of copper are also large in diameter whose model was suggested by the Kushāṇa copper coins and the influence of the weight-standard of the Kushāṇa copper coinage is equally manifest in them.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE KUṆINDAS

As we have seen above, the two sets of the Kuṇinda coinage are separated from each other by an interval of nearly three centuries. The tribe may have experienced vicissitudes of fortunes in the long period of their history. It appears that after the fall of the Mauryas, the Kuṇindas carved out an independent principality. Tarn[77] conjectures that the Kuṇindas with some other tribes were subjugated by the Indo-Greek king Menander, their territories being incorporated into his dominions which extended upto Mathura. As we have attempted to show in connection with the history of the Audumbaras (see pp. 65-66), the Kuṇindas were not possibly conquered by Menander but were able to maintain their independence till the first century A. D.

It was to the Kushāṇas that the Kuṇindas appear to have yielded. The absence of any coinage definitely assignable to the Kushāṇa period may prove loss of political power and authority. The second group of the Kuṇinda coins, as has been said before, seem to have been issued in the third century A. D. or the last part of the second century A. D. In the palmy days of the Kushāṇas—in the reigns of Kanishka the Great and Huvishka—the Kuṇindas and their neighbours must have lost their independence. But they rose again and reasserted their independence. According to Altekar,[78] the Yaudheyas in co-operation with their neighbours, the Kuṇindas and the Ārjunāyanas, dealt an effective blow to the Kushāṇa power and as the third century advanced the Kushāṇas were gradually ousted from U. P. and the eastern Punjab to be replaced by the Maghas, Nāgas, Yaudheyas and Kuṇindas. Although, however, the rise of these powers may be shown to have coincided with the decline of the Kushāṇas, whether there was any such combined attack adversely affecting the fortunes of the Kushāṇas in the manner suggested, must remain a matter of speculative interest for lack of definite evidence. Indeed, the factor mainly responsible for the downfall of the Kushāṇas should be sought elsewhere. It was the Sassanians who actually contributed most to the disintegration of the Kushāṇa power. The Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas appeared on the scene when the political structure of the Kushāṇas was almost on the verge of collapse due to persistent Sassánian attacks. As to the supposition of Altekar[79] that the Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas and Ārjunayanas formed a confederacy against the Kushāṇas sometime about A. D. 200, it may be argued that if such an organisation was actually constituted, the absence of any mention of the Kuṇindas in the list of the autonomous tribes in the Allahabad pillar inscription of c. A. D. 350 may show that the Kuṇindas in the intervening period coalesced with the Yaudheyas as a comparatively weak element in the confederacy.

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[75] *Ibid.*, pp. cii-ciii. [76] *Ibid.*, p. cii. [77] *GBI*, pp. 238-40.

Recently on the basis of this idea of the incorporation of the Kuṇindas with the Yaudheyas, one scholar[80] has gone a step further and suggested that the Chatreśvara coins were "issued by the composite people consisting of the native (Kuṇindas) and migrated (Yaudheya) elements". The theory of a 'composite people' or a 'confederacy' may be entertained, but the real difficulty is that the date of the formation of that confederacy is not known, although it may be said that by c. A. D. 350 this may have been effected. The Chatreśvara coins, as we have seen, are to be attributed to the Kuṇindas long before the rise of the confederacy. There is no evidence to show that any other member of the confederacy including the Yaudheyas ever regarded Chatreśvara as their presiding deity. On the other hand, the Chatreśvara coins definitely bear marks of their association with the Kuṇindas though the name of the tribe does not occur on the coins concerned.

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[78] *VGA*, pp. 25-26. [79] *Ibid.*, pp., 30, 246.

[80] *Bharatiya Vidya*, XXII, p. 50. P. L. Gupta surmises that the Yaudheyas had occupied a considerable portion of the tract around Dehradun, once under the occupation of the Kuṇindas, *JUPHS*, XXIII, p. 173. The surmise, however, lacks adequate evidence.

As regards the nature of this confederacy consisting of the three tribes—the Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas—Altekar[81] observes that they "enjoyed complete autonomy and did not lose their separate existence," their foreign policy and military operations remaining "probably under the direction of the council of the presidents of the three republics, elected by the federating units". But the theory of Altekar is of speculative nature. If all the three tribes were completely autonomous, it is not explained why Samudragupta's inscription refers only to the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas, and not to the Kuṇindas also. Further, with our little knowledge of the Kuṇinda polity in particular it will be going too far to speculate as to how the three tribes functioned as units of the confederacy on the lines suggested by Altekar.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE KUṆINDAS

The Kuṇindas, as we have tried to show, were a mountainous people living in the "narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jumna and the Sutlej and the terriory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej", or perhaps a wider region including Garhwal district of U. P. It is difficult to say anything about the racial affiliation of the Kuṇindas, though Munishchandra Joshi[82] is inclined to consider them, without adducing any reason, as 'a people of Indo-Aryan origin with several sections and sub-sections' like the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas. Incidentally, he[83] has drawn attention to the names of some places in Kumaun and Garhwal regions like Kainyur, Kanalichhina, Kanyalikot, Kunalta, Kulantesvar, Kunelkhet etc. and many Brahmin and Rajput surnames like Kanyal, Kanaunia, Kulalul, Kanyani, Kundal, Kanet or Kanedi, Kanwal and Kanouli, all of which, according to him, "appear to be the corrupt survivals of the term Kuṇinda or Kulinda". If the Kuṇindas formed a widespread element in the population of the region, now comprised in the Kumaun and Garhwal districts, it is not surprising that some place-names reminiscent of the Kuṇindas may still be found. Joshi's theory referring to Brahmin and Rajput surnames involves highly controvessial questions relating to origins of castes and racial connections, which cannot be so summarily solved. Cunningham[84] has, however, connected the Kuṇindas or Kulindas with the Kunets or Kanets whom he calls "the original inhabitants of the whole of the lower slopes of the Himalayas from the banks of the Indus to the Brahmaputra". He is further inclined to associate them with the Khasias and assumes that they lived in this country before the advent of the Aryans. About the Kunets Hodgson[85] remarks that they are "clearly of mixed breed aboriginal Tartars by the mother's side but Aryan by father's". Powell-price[86] is inclined to connect the Kuṇindas with Kartṛipura mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and observes that the Katyurs, a comparatively modern people of the Kumaun-Garhwal region, are "the successors and perhaps the actual descendants of the Kuṇinda dynasty". Attempt has also been made to throw light on the ethnology of the Kuṇindas from a different standpoint. Occasionally an alteration between *Kulinda* and *Pulinda* in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 23. 14) is met with. *Kulinda* and *Pulinda*, taken by some[87] as an 'ethnic pair', are differentiated by the initial *K* and *P*, a process which is unknown to Indo-European or Dravidian, but a characteristic of Austric languages.[88] But this textual variation as noticed in the Epic may be due to copyists' blunder. If any ethnic interpretation is suggested it must be noted that no evidence has been produced so far to establish the connection between them.

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[81] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

[82] *Bharatiya Vidya*, XXII, p. 46.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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[84] *Op. cit.*, p. 71. Also *CASR*, XIV, p. 126.

[85] *Language and Literature of Nepal*, pt. 2, p. 37.

[86] *JUPHS*, IV, p. 14.

[87] *GESM*, p. 77.

[88] See *JA*, 1923, p. 30.

CHAPTER 7

THE MALAVAS

THANKS to the efforts of A. C. Carlleyle, more than six thousand coins issued by the Mālavas, have come to light. According to his *Report*, quite a good number of them in some places lay 'as thick as shells on the seashore'. They were found and obtained by him in the camping season of either 1871-72 or 1872-73 at Nagar or Karkota Nagar situated about 15 miles to the south-west of Uniyara and about 25 miles to the south-southeast by south of Tonk and 45 miles north-north-east of Bundi.[1] The majority of these coins bear the legend *Jaya Mālavana* or *Mālavana jaya*, which obviously stands for Sanskrit *Jayaḥ Mālavānāṁ* or *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*, literally meaning 'the victory of the Mālavas', i. e. 'let there be victory to the Mālavas'. Expressions like *Bhapaṁyana*, *Gajava*, *Magaja*, *Majupa*, etc. found on a distinct group of the Mālava coinage have for a long time been a puzzle to scholars. Before the discovery of Carlleyle of this large number of coins with legends mentioned above, Cunningham[2] obtained a few specimens at the great annual fair at the holy lake of Pokhar in November 1864, which also probably came from the Nagar region. A few coins from the same locality were procured by Nelson Wright which were published by R. C. Douglas in an article in the *NS*.[3] Subsequently in the course of excavation at Rairh, a place situated at a crow-flight distance of only 34 miles from Nagar, over three hundred coins of the Mālavas have been discovered.[4] Rairh has also yielded a lead seal which bears the legend *Mālava-janapadasa* (*SN 1*).[5] Thus the Mālavas left to the posterity several thousands of coins, some of which are, as we shall find later on, "among the most curious and enigmatical."

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[1] *CASR*, VI, p. 162f, Carlleyle found that about 2,296 coins were worth keeping, but 'about 400 good coins' were stolen from him, *ibid.*, p. 173. The Indian Museum collection of the Mālava coins is a part of Carlleyle's find. Smith describes 110 coins in *CCIM*, p. 170f. Bidyabinod notices 37 more coins in *SCCIM*, p. 37f. Smith informs that Hoernle formerly had some coins, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Thus a considerable number remains unaccounted for.

[2] *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 150. Also *CCIM*, p. 163.

[3] *NS*, XXXVII, p. 42f.

[4] *ER*, pp. 49-50.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 71, Pl. XXVI, 22.

ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIBE AND ITS NAME

The Mālavas do not find mention in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* ; but while commenting on the *sūtra* of Pāṇini which speaks of certain tribes as *āyudhajīvi saṁghas*, Patañjali[6] states that the sons of the Kshudrakas and Mālavas are respectively known as Kshaudrakyas and Mālavyas. The *Chāndravyākaraṇa*[7] and *Kāśikā*[8] also include the Kshudrakas and Mālavas amongst those *saṁghas* who used to 'live by the profession of arms'. That the Mālavas flourished at least in the fourth century B. C. is evident from the Classical accounts, if the Malloi,[9] who stood against Alexander, are taken identical with the Mālavas. The identification of the Malloi of the Classical writings with the Mālavas of Indian literature seems to be beyond doubt.[10] Like the Mālavas the Malloi are mentioned in close association with the Kshudrakas, named as the Oxydrakai in the foreign sources. The absence of the name of the Mālavas in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* may be accounted for by the supposition that they may not have attained sufficient importance in Pāṇini's time.

Was *Mālava* the original name of the tribe ? R. O. Douglas[11] on the basis of his reading *Mālaya* on some coins, assumes that this (i.e. *Malaya*) is the older form of the tribal name. He[12] argues in support of his theory that had the name *Mālava* been in common use at the time of Alexander's invasion, the Greeks would have transliterated the word as *Malluoi*. There may be some objections against the view of Douglas[13] : firstly, as he has not published any coin with this legend *Mālaya*, the reading cannot be tested; secondly, transliterations of Indian names by Classical writers are not always dependable. *Malaya* or *Mālaya* may, however, be taken as equivalent to the Sanskrit *Mālava*, specially when the form appears in the Nasik inscription of Ushavadāta.[14] Though some uncertainty exists in respect of the suggestion put forward by Douglas, is not of a serious nature. It cannot be held, however, that the form *Mālaya* is earlier than *Mālava*, for the latter is mentioned by Patañjali in the second century B. C. when the Mālavas issued coins. Regarding the names *Malaya* and *Mālava,* D. C. Sircar[15] suggests that the latter like the former which is known to be the name of a mountain range, is probably derived from Dravidian word *malai* meaning 'hill'. This can have at the best only a speculative value.

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[6] IV. 1. 68.

[7] IV. 3. 90. [8] V. 3. 117.

[9] Arrian, *Anabasis*, V, 22 ; VI, 4-9 ; Curtius, IX, 4, 7, 8 ; Diodorus, XVII, 98 ; Plutarch, 63, etc.

[10] Quite long ago Cunningham identified the Mālavas with the Malloi, see *CASR*, VI, p. 182.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 43. [12] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

[13] The view is supported by some scholars like S. K. Chakrabortty, *AIN*, p. 191.

[14] *EI*, VII, p. 78f. Also *CCBM*, AWK, etc., p. lvii.

Whatever may be the original form of the name or origin of the tribe, it must be admitted that the Mālavas were a people of great fame and antiquity. Besides the work of Patañjali and Classical accounts, the Mālavas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[16] and again on several occasions in conjunction with the Kshudrakas. Like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*[17] also alludes to them. The earliest epigraphic reference to the people under the name *Mālava* is found in the Nandsa yūpa record[18] of the Kṛita (i.e. Vikrama) year 282 corresponding to A. D. 226, this being the earliest record of the so-called Vikrama Saṁvat of 58 B. C. associated with the name of the Mālavas themselves.[19] Next we hear from Harisheṇa, the author of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta,[20] that the Mālavas along with the Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and others fully gratified the imperious commands of Samudragupta. Varāhamihira[21] of the sixth century A. D. groups the Mālavas with people of the northern division of India, while the *Chāndravyākaraṇa,*[22] already mentioned, alludes to them in association with the Kshudrakas, besides referring to their profession of fighting. A number of *Purāṇas*[23] associate the Mālavas with the Saurāshṭras, Avantis, Ābhīras, Śūras and Arbudas. Hiuen Tsang[24] speaks about a country called *Mo-la-po*, which is believed to stand for Indian *Mālava.* Besides the *Kāśikā*, mentioned before, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[25] and the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*[26] contain references to the Mālavas. The lexicographers such as Yādavaprakāśa,[27] Hemachandra[28] and and Purushottamadeva[29] allude to the country of the Mālavas. References to the Mālavas and/or their country can be obtained from a number of early mediaeval inscriptions and literary texts other than those referred to above.[30]

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[15] *AIU*, p. 163.

[16] For their mention with the Kshudrakas, see II. 50. 15, V. 57. 18, VI. 59, 13, etc. In one place they are mentioned with the Śibis and Trigarttas, II. 32. 7.

[17] IV. 35. 10 ; 36. 15, etc.

[18] *EI*, XXVII, p. 252f. Two inscriptions discovered at Nandsa in the old Udaipur State, are practically identical in their contents. Hence they have been referred to in the singular. Another fragmentary inscription found at Nandsa is also connected with the present two inscriptions.

[19] For a discussion on this era see, Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 251-58 ; also *AIU*, pp. 125 fn. 1, 157, 163-64.

[20] *CII*, III, p. 8.

[21] XIV. 27. For other references see IV. 24 ; XVI. 26 ; XXXII. 19 ; LXIX. 11. Fleet observes that "Varāhamihira places them too much to the north," *IA*, XXII, p. 184.

[22] III. 1, 49. For the other reference see fn. 7.

[23] *Bhāgavata*, XII. 1. 36 ; *Vishṇu*, II, 133 ; *Brahma*, XIX. 17. For other references *Matsya*, CXIV. 44. 52 ; *Vāyu*, XLV. 132, etc.

[24] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, p. 242. B. C. Law takes *Mo-la-po* as identical with *Mālavak-āhāra* mentioned in a number of Valabhī grants as included in the kingdom of the Maitrakas of Valabhī, Mālavaka probably corresponding to modern districts of Kaira and Ahmedabad together with parts of the Baroda State, *TAI*, p. 64.

COUNTRY OF THE MĀLAVAS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR COINS

An idea about the earliest settlement of the Mālavas is obtained from the Classical accounts which refer to the Mālavas in connection with Alexander's invasion of India. Though the Classical writers differ among themselves in their respective accounts of the opposition of the Malloi-Mālava to Alexander the Great, from the details supplied it is evident that they were a Punjab tribe and were neighbours of the Oxydrakai-Kshudrakas, with whom they probably formed a league.[31] Arrian, a noted Classical writer, gives some information about the settlement of the Malloi. According to him, Alexander ordered his generals to wait for him with their divisions at the confluence of the Akesines and Hydraotes and then he led them through a waterless tract of country against the Malloi. It is added that the river Akesines joined the Indus in the dominions of the Malloi. With these broad hints about the location of the country of the Mālavas, they may be supposed to have distributed themselves in the region comprising the Doab formed by the Sutlej and Ravi (Hydraotes) and the narrow wedge of land between the confluence of the Indus and the Akesines (Chenab) on the west. H. C. Raychaudhuri[32] does not accept Arrian's evidence in toto but assigns to the Mālavas a territory of lesser extent, that lying on 'the right bank of the lower Hydraotes (Ravi)'. Smith[33] locates the Mālavas in the country below the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenab covering approximately the Jhang and Montgomery districts.

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[25] IV. 2, 87. [26] V. 399.

[27] *Vaijayantī*, Bhūmikāṇḍa, verse 37.

[28] *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, p. 381.

[29] *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, p. 31.

[30] For these various references see *TAI*, pp. 60-65, *ABORI*, XIII, pp. 218-29, *IHQ*, XXIV, pp. 171-79.

[31] *CHI*, I, p. 375 fn. 1.

[32] *PHAI*, p. 254 and fn. 3. [33] *JRAS*, 1903, p. 631.

Though the location of the Mālavas in the time of Alexander cannot be fixed with perfect accuracy mainly because of the subsequent changes in river-courses concerned,[84] there seems to be little doubt that their territory in the fourth century B. C. was situated somewhere in the Central Punjab, either between the Sutlej and the Ravi, or between the Sutlej and the Chenab. Early Punjab association of the Mālavas is attested by the fact that even today a large part of Southern Punjab (lying between 29° and 31° N and 74°30′ and 77° E) comprising the districts of Ferozepur and Ludhiana and the old States of Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Malerkotla, is known as Mālwā.[85] The dialect used in the region extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda is also known by the name Mālāwaī.[86]

Numismatic evidence shows the existence of a Mālava settlement in Eastern Rajasthan, since a large number of their coins bearing the tribal name, assigned to the second century B. C. (see later) have been found in Nagar-Rairh area. It may be concluded that sometime in the second century B. C. or in the last part of the third century B. C. a large section of the Mālavas, apparently the descendants of the Malloi, migrated to Rajasthan most probably owing to the pressure of the Greek invasions under Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. The migration of the tribe seems to have continued down to the Scythian conquest of their early home, the Central Punjab.[87] Jayaswal[88] suggests that they migrated via Bhatinda in Patiala State "where they have left traces of their name in Mālāwai dialect extending from Ferozepore to Bhatinda".

Light on the Mālava occupation of Eastern as well as Central Rajasthan in the second century A. D. is thrown by the Nasik inscription of Ushavadāta.[89] Though the inscription does not give any direct information about the territory of the Mālavas and that of their opponents the Uttamabhadras, referred to by it, it is not unlikely that the Mālavas were at that time occupying the tract near Ajmer. The third-century Nandsa record also seems to locate the *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya* mentioned therein in the region round about Nandsa, situated at 75 miles south-south-west of Ajmer and 110 miles east of Nagar. This *gaṇa-vishaya*, in the words of Altekar,[40]

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[84] For instance, the junction of the Akesines and the Hydraotes occurs at present at a point more than 30 miles above Multan. Thus Cunningham is inclined to place the Mālavas near Multan which he identifies with their capital, *CAGI*, p. 272.

[85] *IG* (1908), p. 105. The boundaries of Mālwā touch Himachal in the North, Hariyana in the south-east and West Pakistan in the North-west. With Patiala as its nerve-centre, it consists of the largest number of districts.

[86] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, 1, p. 709.

[87] *AIU*, p. 163. [88] *HP*, p. 146. [89] *Loc.cit.* [40] *EI*, XXVII, p. 258.

"extended over a considerable portion of south-eastern Rajputana, comprising parts of the States of Udaipur, Jaipur and Tonk and the district of Ajmer".

Thus from the second century B. C. onwards a major section of the Mālavas seems to have made Rajasthan a field of their activities giving the name Mālava to the occupied region where they developed their seats of power. And as has been stated before, on the basis of epigraphical evidence, their country seems to have 'extended over a considerable portion of south-eastern Rajputana' in the third century A. D. It was perhaps during this century that their power reached its apogee.

In the fourth century A. D. circumstances compelled the Mālavas to acknowledge the supremacy of Samudragupta. Where exactly they lived at that time it is now difficult to determine. Bhandarkar[41] thinks that they moved still further southwards and were living probably in Mewar and Kotah of south-eastern Rajasthan and adjacent parts of Central India. Thus it appears that there were three main stages of the movement and settlement of the Mālavas: first, the Mālavas were in the Punjab; in the second stage they were in Nagar; and in the third, they moved further southwards and settled in the north-western part of Central India what is now known as Malwa. One thing, however, seems to be certain: the Mālavas in the reign of Kumāragupta I (A. D. 414-455) were in the occupation of the Mandasor region as is evident from the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I dated in the Mālava years 493 (A. D. 436) and 529 (A. D. 473) commencing in B. C. 58-57 and handed down traditionally by the Mālavagaṇa.[42] This seems to be further confirmed by the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman dated in the Mālava year 589 (A. D. 532).[43]

Abundant epigraphical and literary records of later days referring to the Mālavas have come to light. An analysis of three records will make it amply clear that like many other tribes of ancient India, the Mālavas had an original home (found to be in the Punjab), from which they spread in different directions and formed settlements, achieving further expansion as necessity arose. It is interesting to find that as early as in the time of the *Mahābhārata*[44] a two or three-fold classification of the Mālavas was known, viz. the Mālavas of the East, North and West (*Sauvīrāḥ Kitavāḥ prāchyāḥ pratīchy-odīchya-Mālāvāḥ*). Their maximum expansion is attested by a twelfth-century inscription[45] which states that Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla, a feudatory of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, subdued the *sapta-Mālava* countries up to the Himalayas,[46] marking the last known stage of the movement of the tribe.

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[41] *IHQ*, I, p. 257.

[42] *CII*, III, p. 79f. B. C. Law places them in Vagarchal in south-eastern Jaipur, *HGAI*, p. 322.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[44] VI. 102. 7*a* (BORI edition). Altekar takes the passage in question to refer to three divisions of the Mālavas including the *prāchya* division, i.e. eastern Mālavas, without taking it as having any reference to the *Sauvīras* and *Kitavas* (see *EI*, XXVII, p. 258). Now, as the *prāchya* has been placed outside the compound formed of *pratīchya*, *udīchya*, and *Mālava* and comes after *Sauvīrāḥ* and *Kitavāḥ*, it should mean that the passage alludes to eastern Sauvīras and Kitavas.

COINS OF THE MĀLAVAS

Coins of the Mālavas, all made of copper, mainly come from Nagar in Rajasthan. The other important findspot of the Mālavas is Rairh, not very far from Nagar. Altogether all the Mālava coins have hailed from Rajasthan uptil now. Punjab, the early homeland of the tribe, has not yet yielded any coin of the Mālavas.

The cabinet of the British Museum had no Mālava coin until 1935, when T. B. Horwood, I.C.S. (Retired) presented six specimens to it.[47] The most representative collection of the coins of the Mālavas is possessed by the Indian Museum and to this collection belongs a coin of the tribe which 'is one of the smallest coins in the world' weighing only 1.7 grain and having a diameter of ·2 inch.[48] The largest coin of the tribe has a diameter of about half an inch.

Majority of the coins of the Mālavas bear the tribal name. Some coins contain a number of peculiar legends. Generally the coins are of round shape, but rectangular pieces are also not uncommon. Devices and symbols met with on them are generally found on other tribal coins. We may broadly divide the Mālava coins into two classes which may again be subdivided into several varieties according to the devices and symbols. Class 1 consisting of round and rectangular coins has been divided into two groups—Group A and Group B—which include round and rectangular coins respectively.

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[45] *EI*, V, p. 229.

[46] For these seven Mālava countries, see *PHAI*, p. 582, fn. 5. Though the limits of the Mālava country varied in different periods, Mālava or Malwa proper, as understood by Hindus, consists solely of the plateau lying between 23°30′ and 24°30′ N and 74°30′ and 78°10′ E. In a wider sense it denoted the region between the Gangetic Valley and the Vindhyan mountain on the one hand and Bundelkhand and the Aravalli range on the other.

[47] *CCBM*, p. civ.

[48] Smith refers to eight select specimens of minute rectangular coins from Eran measuring from ·2 to ·35 inch on the side, *op.cit.*, p. 163, fn. 1. Like the tiny Mālava coin mentioned above some silver coins of Ephesus, now in the British Museum, are also of remarkably small size ; the smallest of them weighs only a grain, *ibid.*

GROUP A

Class 1

Variety A

Obverse : *Jaya* in large script.
Reverse : Radiate Sun and a second solar symbol ; marginal legend in large character *Māla*(*vānāṁ*).

Variety B

Obverse : Legend in two lines (*i*) (*Ja*)*ya*, (*ii*) (*Mā*)*lavānāṁ*.
Reverse : Corroded.

Variety C

Obverse : Conventional tree in railing, with *ja* to left and *ya* to right.
Reverse : An undulating line probably snake ; rest corroded, probably had legend (*Mā*)*lavānāṁ*.

Variety D

Obverse : Above, railing of tree ; below, *Mālavā̆*.
Reverse : Undulating line probably snake ; *nandipada* symbol.

Variety E

Obverse : Tree as above, with *ja* to left and *ya* to right. Below *Mālavāna* (*ā*) *ṁ*.
Reverse : Three symbols, undulating line, *nandipada* and triangular standard. (*CN 58*)

Variety F

Obverse : Animal probably lion standing to left traces of legend above seem to be *Mālava*.
Reverse : Symbols mostly defaced.

Variety G

Obverse : *Jaya* in bold characters on blank surface.
Reverse : Corroded, probably had legend *Mālavānāṁ*. (*CN 59*)

N.B. To Smith it appears to be rather later than the others, *op.cit.*, p. 171.

Variety H

Obverse : Three-arched symbol ; above (*Ja*)*ya* in large old characters.
Reverse : Radiate Sun and second solar symbol as on Variety A ; legend below *Mālavaṇa*. (*CN 60*)

Variety I

Obverse : Legend in two lines, (*i*) *Malāva* and (*ii*) *Jaya* in large old characters.

Reverse : Vase in dotted circle. (*CN 61*)

Variety J

Obverse : In centre tree in railing, to right *Mālavā*, to left *ṇa jaya.*

Reverse : Vase in dotted border. (*CN 62a-c*)

Variety K

Obverse : Legend in two lines, (*i*) *Jaya* left and solar symbol right, (*ii*) *Mālavānāṁ*. Below undulating line.

Reverse : Tree in railing and six-arched symbol. (*CN 63*)

Variety L

Obverse : Tree in railing left and solar symbol. Middle *Mālavānaṁ*. Below undulating line. ***vanaṁ.*** (*vanāin*)

Reverse : *Jaya.* (*CN 64*)

Variety M

Obverse : Two solar symbols, one a radiate sun. Below *Mālavānaṁ*.

Reverse : Traces of an undulating line. (*CN 65*)

Variety N

Obverse : *...na jaya.* A trident above the legend.

Reverse : A batte-axe (combined with a trident ?).

Variety O

Obverse : Two-line legend, (*i*) *Mal ava*, (*ii*) *hṇa jaya.*

Reverse : (?) Recumbent bull to left. (*CN 66*)

Variety P

Obverse : Tree, right *Mālava*, left *ṇā jaya.*

Reverse : Bull with prominent horns moving to the left.

Variety Q

Obverse : Tree ; right *Mālava*, left *ṇa jaya.*

Reverse : Bull moving to right. (*CN 67a-c*)

Variety R

Obverse : *Mālava* only in bold early script.
Reverse : Bull moving to right (?).

Variety S

Obverse : Uncertain device in centre ; roughly executed marginal legend *Mālava gaṇa...*
Reverse : King's head to right with curly hair. (*CN 68*)

Variety T

Obverse : Same as on Variety S but the legend is not fully legible.
Reverse : King's head to left.

Variety U

Obverse : Obscure central device ; marginal legend *Mālava* in large characters, reversed, read from right to left, followed apparently by *ga* (?).
Reverse : Peacock facing, with expanded tail covering whole surface. (*CN 69*)

Variety V

Obverse : Curious device, possibly intended for female figure ; distinct legend, reversed from right to left, (*Mā*) *lava ga* (? *gaṇasya jaya*).
Reverse : Same as on Variety U, but less distinct. (*CN 70*)

Variety W

Obverse : Marginal legend *Malavāhṇā jaya* (late form of *ya*).
Reverse : Apparently a solar symbol with bent rays.

Variety X

Obverse : Tree ; left *Māla*(*va*), right *jaya.*
Reverse : A peculiar symbol, like two Brahmi *j*-s combined.

Variety Y

Obverse : Two-line legend, (*i*) *Jaya*, (*ii*) (*Mā*) *lavānā* only. No device.
Reverse : Defaced. Traces of a wavy line, probably a snake.

Variety Z

Obverse : Tree in railing ; left *Mala*.
Reverse : *Nandipada* symbol occupying the whole surface. (*CN 71*)

Variety A-1

Obverse : Marginal legend (*Ma*)*lavā*.
Reverse : Defaced, probably peacock.

GROUP B

Class 1

Variety A

Obverse : In centre tree in railing ; to right *Malava*, to left *Jaya*.
Reverse : Vase in dotted border. (*CN 72a-d*)

N. B. *C* is a subvariety while *D* is the enlarged reproduction of *C*.

Variety B

Obverse : *Mālava jaya*.
Reverse : Lion standing to left.

Variety C

Obverse : Tree or palm branch ; right *Mālava*, left *Jaya*.
Reverse : Lion standing to left, open mouthed, in dotted border. (*CN 73*)

Variety D

Obverse : *Malavā jaya* and tree in railing.
Reverse : Lion to right. (*CN 74*)

Variety E

Obverse : Two-line legend, (*i*) *Ma(ā)lava*, (*ii*) *hṇa jaya*. No device.
Reverse : Humped bull walking to left. (*CN 75*)

Variety F

Obverse : Tree in railing. Two-line legend, (*i*) *Mālava*, (*ii*) *Jaya*.
Reverse : An animal perhaps bull facing right in dotted border.

Variety G

Obverse : *Mālava sujaya.*
Reverse : Humped bull to right.

Variety H

Obverse : *Mālava* in incuse square.
Reverse : Animal facing left.

N. B. Varieties G and H are represented by two coins belonging to the collection of Nelson Wright and published by R. O. Douglas. While the coin of Variety G is square, that of H is cylindrical in shape, see *NS*, XXXVII, p. 45.

Variety I

Obverse : Above solar symbol, *Mālavānāṁ* ; undulating line below.
Reverse : *Jaya.*

Class 2

Variety A

Obverse : Tree in railing ; marginal legend in early characters *Bhapaṁyana.*
Reverse : Animal, probably a lion or tiger, to left. (*CN 76*)

Variety B

Obverse : Tree in railing ; to right *Yama* in early characters.
Reverse : A form of the Ujjain symbol ; an undulating line, perhaps a snake. (*CN 77)*

Variety C

Obverse : Two-line legend, (*i*) *Yama,* (*ii*) illegible.
Reverse : An animal indistinct.

Variety D

Obverse : Two-line legend, (*i*) *Mālava,* (*ii*) *Majupa,* both read from right to left.
Reverse : Animal, not humped, to left. (*CN 78a-b*)

N. B. B is the enlarged reproduction of *A.*

Veriety E

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Mapojɿya* ; the *ya* turned endwise to save space.
Reverse : Lion. (*CN 79*)

Variety F

Obverse : *Mapo.*
Reverse : Elephant to right.

Variety G

Obverse : Uncertain marks in centre; marginal legend *Mapayasa jaya* ; (?) *gaṇa* between *Mapaya* and *sa.*
Reverse : King's head to left. (*CN 80*)

Variety H

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Mapaya*, the *ya* being turned endwise, in order to save space.
Reverse : Humped bull to left. (*CN 81*)

Variety I

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Magajaśa* in incuse.
Reverse : Defaced. (*CN 82*)

Variety J

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Magaja* in incuse.
Reverse : Elephant to right. (*CN 83*)

N.B. Douglas takes *Magaja* as equivalent to *Mahāgaja*, i.e. elephant of Śiva or Vishṇu, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Variety K

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Magojava* in incuse.
Reverse : Lion sitting to right. (*CN 84a-b*)

Variety L

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Gojara*, in incuse.
Reverse : Lion seems to be running.

Variety M

Obverse : Single-line legend, *Māśapa*, in incuse.
Reverse : Defaced.

Variety N

Obverse : Single-line legend, across face of coin, *Mapaka.*
Reveres : Bull to left.

Variety O

Obverse : Single-line legend across face of coin, *Pachha.*
Reverse : (?) King's head to right ; defaced.

Variety P

Obverse : Single-line legend across face of coin, apparently *Magachha*, but possibly another character proceeds.
Reverse : Bull to left. (*CN 85*)

Variety Q

Obverse : *Gajava* across face of coin.
Reverse : Defaced. (*CN 86*)

Variety R

Obverse : *Jāmaka* across face of coin.
Reverse : Defaced. (*CN 87*)

N.B. According to Smith the characters of the legend of the coin concerned belong to the second century A. D. Allan reads *Jamaku* on the British Museum specimen, *CCBM*, p. cv.

Variety S

Obverse : *Jamapaya* across face of coin, the last character endwise.
Reverse : Defaced or blank.

N.B. Douglas doubts the regarding *Jamapaya* as suggested by Smith. According to him the reading should be *Jamapa*, the mark read as *ya* being "only a defect in the coin", *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Variety T

Obverse : *Paya* across face of coin, the *ya* of late form.
Reserve : Bull to left. (*CN 88*)

Variety U

Observe : Legend in two lines, (*i*) (*Ma*) *h* (*ā*), (*ii*) *rāya.*
Reserve : Blank or wholly defaced. (*CN 89*)

Variety V

Observe : *Maraja* in incuse, complete.
Reserve : Blank or wholly defaced. (*CN 90*)

DEVICES AND SYMBOLS ON MĀLAVA COINS

Mālava coins reveal the devices and symbols which have also been met with on other ancient Indian coins. The one interesting feature about a human figure appearing on certain Mālava coins is the bust, which is frequently found on Satrapal issues, rarely on tribal coins.

Among the devices and symbols on the Mālava coins mention may be made of the following: human bust, squatting male figure, bull, peacock, lotus flower, pinnate palm leaf, vase with or without foliage, undulating line (a prominent feature of the Rairh specimens), 'cross and ball' or the so-called Ujjain or Mālava symbol. As most of the symbols are well-known and have been described elsewhere, the vase and the 'cross and ball' only may be discussed below:

(*i*) Vase with or without foliage: An auspicious symbol, this is still regarded as such by the Hindus who place vase or pot with foliage (*maṅgala-ghaṭa*) on two sides of the main entrances of their houses on ceremonial occasions like marriages. The Jainas also attach sanctity to such a vase. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*[49] describes pot alone or pot with fragrant flowers as an auspicious symbol. On some specimens of the Mālava coinage it is placed within a dotted circle or dotted border. The symbol is found also on Yaudheya coins with *tri*.

(*ii*) Cross and ball symbol: The symbol because of its conspicuous appearance on coins found in the Mālava region is called 'Mālava symbol'. It is also called 'Ujjain symbol', from the name of the place included in Mālava or Malwa. Its presence on Mālava coins is but a natural one. S. K. Chakrabortty[50] regards it as a solar symbol used extensively in early times. Formerly this symbol was taken to be an exclusively Indian one, but it has been met with on certain series discovered by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos.[51] The symbol also appears on Andhra and Kshatrapa coins as well as on certain Yaudheya coins.[52]

Among the remaining symbols, bull sometimes takes so prominent place as to regard it as a type. In other words, coins bearing the figure of this animal may be regarded as constituting 'bull type' coins. The Mālava bull is sometimes found to be recumbent and sometimes humped. Among other animals seen on Mālava coins are lion and elephant both of which have been met with on other tribal coins like those of the Agras, Ārjunāyanas and Rājanyas. The peacock appears on some Yaudheya coins with its master, but on some Mālava coins its prominent position gives it the character of a coin-device. It is represented with its fan-tail as is found on the coinage of

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[49] *SBE*, XXII, pp. 219-38. Also Coomaraswamy, *Yaksas*, II, pp. 61-64.

[50] *NS*, XLVI, p. 63.

[51] *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I, p. 281, fig. 213.

[52] *CCBM*, AWK, etc. p. 239; for Yaudheya coins, see later.

Kumāragupta I. Sometimes it is mistakenly described as 'King's head'. The lotus flower and the palm leaf are two more symbols of the Mālava coinage. While the former is sometimes found to be opened and sometimes conventionally represented, the latter is of pinnate variety and appears side by side with the legend. The squatting male figure with knees raised is interesting, but it is difficult to say anything about the nature of identification of the figure in question. The presence of 'King's head' may be discerned on some specimens (cf. *CCIM*, p. 173, No. 58, Pl. XX). Other symbols are tree in railing, radiate sun or similar solar symbol, *nandipada* and undulating line (generally taken to represent a snake). The *nandipada* sometimes occupies the entire area of the coin so as to be regarded as a device.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINS

Carlleyle[53] and Cunningham[54] place the beginning of Mālava coinage in about circa 250 B. C. Smith[55] and Rapson[56] assign it to about 150 B. C., a dating now generally accepted by scholars.[57]

Smith[58] holds that the larger coins with *Mālaya* or *Mālavānāṁ jaya*, specimens 1-11 of this *Catalogue*, are the earliest in the series (included by us in Class 1, Group A, Varieties A-D, F-H). R. O. Douglas[59] objects to Smith's dating of the above coins and argues that since Prakrit inscriptions were the order of the day in the second century B. C., coins with Sanskrit legends like *Mālavānāṁ jaya (ḥ)* are to be regarded as having been issued along with the later Mālava coins in the third-fourth century A. D. Douglas[60] traces *Mālaya*, same as *Malaya*, on some coins and since he regards it as the earliest form of the name of the tribe, he ascribes coins bearing this legend as the earliest Mālava coins. Whether *Mālaya* or *Malaya* is the correct reading, there is some weight in the argument that in dating these coins the fact that they bear Prakrit legends should not be overlooked. In other words, coins with *Mālaya* or *Malaya* seem to be assignable to the second century B. C. S. K. Chakrabortty[61] asserts that "the form *Mālavanā jaya* is surely of an earlier date than *Mālavānāṁ jaya*, which may be dated in the second century A. D.". He[62] is also of the opinion that four coins on which inscriptions are written from right to left (*CCIM*, Nos. 57, 62, 63, 70 ; here Class 1, Group A, Varieties U and V and Class 2, Variety D) betraying the influence of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet are to be ascribed to an earlier age.

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[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

[54] See *CASR*, VI, p. 182. Cunningham first dated these coins in 200-0 B.C. Later on he modified his opinion, to an extent, and assigned them to a period 250 B. C.-250 A. D.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 162. [56] *RIC*, p. 15. [57] Cf. Altekar, *EI*, XXVII, p. 259.

[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 163. [59] *Op. cit.*, p. 43. [60] *Ibid.* [61] *AIN*, p. 192. [62] *Ibid.*

The beginning of the Mālava coinage, according to Allan, is to be placed in a later date. He[63] thinks that the age of the Mālava coins range from the second century A. D. to the early fourth century A. D. This estimate, he[64] believes, is supported by the fact that the script used in the legend on the coins (cf. *ma*) is of the early Gupta variety, but according to Altekar,[65] "the coins are too small to enable us to form any decisive opinion about the time suggested by their palaeography". The evidence in favour of Allan's dating is not decisive enough for rejecting the upper limit suggested, so far as the introduction of the Mālava coinage is concerned, viz. the middle of the second century B. C.

As regards the lower limit, there seems to be little doubt that it should be sometime about A. D. 350. Rapson[66] observes that coins with the legend *Mālavānāṁ jaya* being in fabric somewhat similar to the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī should belong to "a date not earlier than the fifth century A. D." Smith[67] disagrees with Rapson as regards the date of the coins with *Mālavānāṁ jaya* and also that of the later issues in regard to which his view is clear from his observation that "none of the coins in the Indian Museum are as late as the fifth century". According to him,[68] "the cessation of the local coinage is adequately accounted for by Samudragupta's conquest of Northern India about 380 A. D." and thus he takes "380 A. D." as "the limiting date" of the Mālava coins.

Thus the age of the Mālava coinage may be said to have ranged from about the middle of the second century B. C. to the middle of the fourth century A. D., the time of the rise of Sumdragupta as a paramount ruler of Northern India. Most of the coins with queer legends seem to have been later issues, but some of them (e.g. *CCIM*, 69, Pl. XX, 25 ; here Class 2, Variety B, which has an old form of *ma*) may be reasonably placed in the pre-Christian centuries.

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[63] *CCBM*, p. cvi.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *EI*, XXVII, p. 259.

[66] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

[67] *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

[68] *Ibid.* The words "Samudragupta's conquest of Northern India about 330 A. D." are corrected as "the extension of power of Chandragupta II about 380 A. D." in the *Corrigenda et addenda* in his *Catalogue*, p. xviii. The portion of the other statement "330 A. D. may be taken as the limiting date" is also likewise corrected.

INTERPRETATION OF COIN-LEGENDS

The earliest form of the tribal name, as Douglas[69] would have us believe, is *Mālaya*, i.e. *Malaya* (cf. the form in Ushavadata's inscription, *loc. cit.*) which he finds on a few specimens in the collection of Wright. *Mala*, occurring on some other coins of the same collection, is regarded by Douglas[70] as the name of a king, the founder of the tribe, but it appears to have been intended to be *Mālaya* or *Mālava*. The legends which are generally met with on the Mālava coins (here Class 1) are *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*[71] (i. e. 'let the Mālavas be victorious') and its variant *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ* (i.e. 'let the Mālava-*gaṇa* be victorious'). The legends are paralleled by those on the coins of the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas. The significance of them is understandably clear. But expressions like *Bhapaṁyana*,[72] *Gajava*, *Gojara*, *Mahārāya* (*ma* is not clear), *Jamaka*, *Jamapaya*, *Magachha*, *Magaja*, *Magajaśa*, *Magojaba*, *Majupa*, *Mapaka*, *Mapojaya*, *Maraja*, *Māśapa*, *Pachha*, *Paya*, *Yama* (may be read backwards as *Maya*) and *Maraja* found on a distinct group of Mālava coinage (the attribution of these coins to the Mālavas is not only made on the basis of provenance, type and fabric, but also on the explicit occurrence of the tribal name along with one of the above-mentioned legends, *CCIM*, no. 70) have been for a long time a riddle to scholars. Attempts have been made by scholars to solve the riddle, though without any substantial success as yet.

While Carlleyle[73] recognises in these legends the names of about forty Mālava chiefs, Smith[74] traces only nineteen or twenty (if *Yama* is read as *Maya* or *Maya* as *Yama*, the number will be nineteen) such names on the coins in his *Catalogue* all of which he regards as of foreign origin. If these legends stand for names at all, as Carlleyle and Smith think, it is true that they sound rather un-Indian. And if they are regarded as names of foreign rulers, it is a problem, to use the words of Allan,[75] "what invaders could have struck them. They are too late for the Śakas and too early for the Hūṇas ; in addition, out of over twenty names, not one bears any resemblance to any Śaka or Hūṇa name". Allan[76] further points out that these legends cannot be regarded as names of rulers since "in not one there is any trace of a genitive". According to him,[77] most of these legends are to be treated as "meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jaya*" and this suggestion, he avers, "may account for so many of the legends beginning with *ma* and for the frequency of *ma* as another letter of the inscription, and indeed, for the limited number of consonants which form these inscriptions". Allan is thus disinclined to regard these legends as names, far less names of foreign rulers.

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[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] Mālava coins, generally being small, legends on them are mostly incomplete or found in shortened form. Thus we come across *Mālava Jaya* or *Mālavāna jaya*. Sometimes *Mālavahṇa jaya* is met with, which seems to be a mistake. Similarly *Mālava jaya* or *Mālava* appears to be a shortened form of a complete legend like *Mālavānāṁjaya*. The lack of space is the obvious reason for such shortened forms.

[72] Jayaswal reads *Bhampāyana*, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

[74] *Op. cit.*, p. 163. [75] *Op. cit.*, p. cvi.

The legends are, therefore, to be taken either as personal names or as attempts to reproduce a complete legend like *Mālavānāṁ jaya* partially. One point, however, is to be noted in this connection: the letter *ma* frequently occurs, as many as sixteen times, in a group of twenty legends and on eleven occasions it is the initial letter. The frequency of this letter drew the attention of two Indian scholars, Jayaswal[78] and Bhandarkar,[79] who discussed the meaning and significance of these legends before the publication of Allan's *Catalogue*. Jayaswal, who regarded these legends as personal names, suggested that these "seem to be abbreviations—*Maraja* = *Mahārāja*; cf. *Mahārāya*... *Mapojaya*, *Mapaya* and *Magaja* are probably *Mahā*-(*Mahārāja*) *Jaya*, *Mā* (*Mahārāja*) *Paya* and *Ma* (*Mahārāja*) *Gaja*. Similarly, *Magajaśa* = *Ma* (*Mahā*) *Gaja* (*Gajaśa*), *Gajava* = *Gaja-pa*", etc. Bhandarkar[80] took the letter *ma* as the abbreviation not of *Mahā* or *Mahārāja*, but of the tribal name, *Mālava* and he interpreted the remaining letters also as contractions of words like *gaṇa*, *jaya*, etc.; for instance, *ga* = *gaṇa*, *ja* = *jaya*, *Magaja* thus standing for *Mālavagaṇasya jaya*. Bhandarkar thus attempted to improve upon the suggestion of Jayaswal.

The smallness of the size of the Mālava coins and the consequent lack of space thereon give the suggestions of Jayaswal and Bhandarkar an appearance of probability. Allan,[81] however, objects to the view of Jayaswal on two grounds: first, even if *ma* is taken to stand for *Mahārāja*, the remaining letters of the legends do not offer any intelligible names and, second, there is no instance of a contraction in Indian numismatics. As to the second objection of Allan, it may be pointed out that though we have no definite instance of a contraction or abbreviation, its probability cannot be totally ignored.[82] Allan's first argument has of course some force. Apparently unaware of Bhandarkar's suggestion, he has not referred to some of the letters, other than *ma*, having been interpreted as abbreviations of words like *gaṇa* and *jaya*. In spite of it his objection cannot be disregarded, for the ingenious method of interpretation employed by Jayaswal and improved upon by Bhandarkar fails to explain letters like *chha*, *pa*, *bha* and *sa* on whose meaning no light has been thrown. It is, therefore, difficult to regard the legends concerned as abbreviations of complete legends like *Mahārāja-paya* or *Mālavagaṇasya jaya.*

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[76] *Ibid.*, p. cvii.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

[79] For Bhandarkar's suggestion, see *ABORI*, XXIII, p. 224.

[80] *Ibid.*

[81] *Op. cit.*, p. cvii.

While Allan's objection to the view that these legends are not abbreviations has some weight, his own suggestion is open to criticism. It is difficult to understand how it could be possible for mint-masters to systematically make "meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jaya*". Secondly, in the legend *Mālavānāṁ jaya* (also in *Mālavagaṇasya jaya*) the letters *chha*, *pa*, *bha*, and *sa* are conspicuous by their absence. The difficulty that appears as insuperable in accepting Allan's view is that there is at least one coin in the Indian Museum (*CCIM*, p. 175, No. 70 ; here Class 2, Variety D) which definitely bears the name of the tribe *Mālava* along with one of the curious expressions *Majupa*, thereby showing that *Majupa* can in no way be regarded as a meaningless attempt to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jaya.*[83] Thus we are to revert to the main suggestion offered by Carlleyle and Smith that these legends stand for names of Mālava chiefs. But we differ from Smith who regards these chiefs as of foreign extraction. Apparently these names sound non-Indian, but a foreign origin cannot be established merely on the basis of names, specially when no successful attempt has been made to connect them with any foreign stock.[84]

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[82] Cf. *Mahārāja Gaṇa* on the Nāga coinage as an abbreviation for *Mahārāja Gaṇendra*, *AIN*, p. 194.

[83] There is another coin in the Indian Museum (*CCIM*, p. 176, No. 92 ; here Class 2, Variety C) bearing *Yama* in one line. The inscription in the second line is illegible. But on the analogy of the coin with *Majupa* it may be surmised that what is now illegible was Mālava. The first letter of the legend *Majupa* is not distinct, but that does not affect our argument since it is to be included on account of *-jupa* in the category of the curious expressions in question.

[84] S. Chattopadhyay takes *Magajasa* and *Magojava* as divisible respectively into two parts ; *Maga-jasa* and *Mago-java*, *Maga* or *Mago* in these cases denoting, according to his view, the Maga branch of the Śakas, see *EHNI*, pp. 122-23. He does not explain the meaning of the other elements of the compounds. Similarly there are other legends without *maga* or *mago* which cannot be explained. In Rock edict I (Girnar version) Aśoka uses the word in a different sense.

While it has not so far been proved that they were of foreign extraction, the probability of their belonging to a non-Aryan stock may be considered.

Words of non-Sanskritic origin, like the present legends, are not altogether absent in Indian numismatics. An analogous case is furnished by words like *Rālimasa* (or *Tālimata*), *Dojaka*, *Atakatakā*, etc. appearing on a group of *negama* coins found at Taxila.[85] They have been taken by scholars as proper names, either as names of persons or of places.[86] On this analogy, therefore, the outlandish words on Mālava coins may be regarded as proper names and, as has been suggested above, they seem to be the names of Mālava chiefs, probably of non-Aryan origin. Non-Sanskritic personal names like *Magasa* (*Bhavishya Purāṇa*), *Maṅkana* (*Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas), *Majjala* (*Mahābhārata*), etc. also tempt us to consider the legends on Mālava coins as personal names.

Against taking these legends as personal names one may point out, as Allan has done, that they are without any normal genitive suffix. But actually there are definite instances of personal name in coin-legends having no genitive suffix. The Nāga coinage, to which some of the Mālava coins are closely related,[87] is an illustration on the point. The non-use of the genitive sign is a feature shared by both the Mālava and the Nāga coinages generally unnoticed by scholars. Hence there is no strong case against the view of the legends being regarded as personal names.

Further, it will be an oversimplification of the chronological problem presented by these coins if they are assigned without any differentiation to one specific period, the third-fourth century A. D. Some of these coins, as we have mentioned before, are earlier than the rest. Thus there is no question of accommodating so many rulers in a

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Recently a few coins with the legends *Hamugama*, *Valāka*, *Mahu*, *Dāsa* and *Sauma* have been discovered from Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. According to K. D. Bajpai, the legends stand for personal names and since they sound un-Indian, the coins bearing them are to be attributed to Śaka chiefs ruling from 200 to 100 B. C., see *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. 1, pp. 46-50, Pl. II, 1-6; also *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology*, University of Saugar (henceforth *BAIHA*), no. 1, 1967, p. 7f. It is not necessary to suppose that there was a Śaka infiltration during this period on this ground. This can be explained otherwise, as shown by us in connection with the Mālava coins bearing curious legends.

[85] See *CAI*, p. 64; *CCBM*, p. cxxvi.

[86] Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 65; *CCBM*, p. cxxx.

[87] See *CCIM*, pp. 162, 164; *JRAS*, 1897, p. 643. For a fairly good number of Nāga coins bearing personal names without any genitive sign, see H. V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*.

limited period, a difficulty which D. C. Sircar has experienced in his treatment of the Mālava coinage (see below).

To sum up, the coins bearing enigmatical legends like *Bhapaṁyana*, *Mapojaya*, *Magaja*, *Jamaka*, etc. should be attributed to Mālava chiefs. Some of them such as the one bearing *Yama* (Class 2, Variety B) may be placed in pre-Christian centuries, while others such as the one bearing *Magojava* (Class 2, Variety B) may be assigned to the third-fourth century A. D.

ARE COINS OF CLASS 2 'IMITATION COINS'?

Recently D. C. Sircar has attempted a fresh study of the Mālava coins with the curious legends (Class 2). Following Allan he holds that these legends are not personal names. In support of Allan he[88] has added a few more points which are as follows:

> "In the first place, while it is difficult to believe that certain (Mālava) chiefs issued coins at the same time for circulation in the same area in addition to the monetary issues of the Mālava Republic, it is even more difficult to accommodate so many rulers using the 'Early Gupta' type of *ma* in the period before or after the age covered by the genuine issues of the Mālavas. Secondly, the well-known story of the gradual Indianisation of the foreigners, as indicated, among others, by their adoption of Indian names within a few generations, makes it difficult to believe that so many foreign rulers could have successively resisted the Indianisation of their names. Thirdly, since the Mālavas are actually known to have been an indigenous Indian tribe, it is difficult to explain such an intimate relation between their Republic and a group of foreign chiefs so that both issued coins at the same time for circulation in the same region."

As regards the legends, Sircar[89] tries to explain their apparent meaninglessness by the supposition that the coins bearing them are 'imitations of the Mālava money', being manufactured by inefficient goldsmiths "in order to meet the requirements of the people of the area in question who were used to the Mālava coinage" at a time when the Mālavas were no longer in a position to issue their coins. Sircar's suggestion raises a new problem relating to the circulation of two 'types' of coins at the same time and in the same area. Further, Sircar does not explain as to why the Mālavas were unable to issue genuine coinage of their own.

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[88] *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 3-4.

[89] *Ibid.*

It is true that local conservatism played a singificant role in ancient Indian numismatics and also that we have at our disposal large numbers of 'imitation coins' like the copper coins with vase as a type issued by Chandragupta II, evidently in imitation of 'vase type' Mālava series. But the very basis of Sircar's theory that in the second-third century A. D., the period of the coins in question, "the Mālavas were no longer in a position to issue their own coins" is a shaky one. The Nandsa record clearly shows that in the third century A. D. the Mālavas were flourishing as a republican tribe, their country being referred to as *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya*. And the performance of a Vedic sacrifice like the *Ekashashṭirātra* intended for the prosperity of the country may show that the Mālavas were at that time in no difficulty to issue copper coins. In other words, we have no reason to suppose that in the second-third century A. D. the Mālavas were not in a position to issue their own coins. Also it is not certain whether these coins were 'imitations' of the 'genuine' Mālava money. The coin with the tribal name rather shows that they were in all likelihood genuine Mālava issues. Even if they are to be treated as 'imitation coins', the question of the issuers is to be settled.

D. C. Sircar[90] has, however, criticised my view[91] regarding the interpretation of the curious legends *Bhapaṁyana*, *Mapojaya*, *Magajaśa*, etc. on the aforesaid coins. Unfortunately, he has not referred to the Mālava coin (no. 70 of Smith's *Catalogue*) which I have used as an important evidence in my discussion. Sircar has not also considered the evidence of findspot.[92] No evidence has been furnished in support of his view assigning the Mālava coins bearing curious legends to a period after the cessation of the genuine Mālava coinage. We are left in the dark as to why it was considered necessary by the manufacturers of these coins to give them an appearance of genuineness. The question remains unanswered as to how it could have been possible for 'local goldsmiths' not only to manufacture but also to put them into circulation without any political authority. If the goldsmiths wanted to pass them as genuine Mālava coins, why did they not make them look genuine in every possible manner but systematically resort to inscribing meaningless legends? In this connection, it may be worthwhile to refer to the issue of some copper coins of Chandragupta II in imitation of the 'vase' type of Mālava coins. But do they furnish

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[90] *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. 2, pp. 204-5.

[91] For my rejoinder, see *ibid.*, XXIX, pt. 2, pp. 79-80.

[92] Strangely enough, Sircar uses the evidence of this particular coin, to which I first drew attention of scholars, (cf. *OH*, XIII, pt. 2, 1965, p. 18; *PIHC*, XXVII, Allahabad, 1965, p. 56f), in his *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition* (henceforth *AMVT*), 1967, p. 16, without any reference to my name.

'meaningless legends' in the manner of those to be found on the present coins which are proposed to be treated as 'imitation coins'?

As Sircar himself admits, "it is difficult to explain as to how the circulation of two types of coins at the same time and in the same area should have been allowed by the Mālava Republic over a fairly long period of time". To obviate this difficulty he has made a guess (as noted before) that "when the Mālavas were no longer in a position to issue their own coins, local goldsmiths minted the imitations in order to meet the requirements of the people who were used to the Mālava coinage". Needless to say, this guess is of an extremely vague character.

METROLOGY OF THE MĀLAVA COINS

The Mālavas issued coins in copper only, most of them being of small size and of indifferent workmanship. Smith[93] has recorded the weights of the coins (divided by him into three classes) belonging to the collection of the Indian Museum which are as follows:

		Grains
Class A	Group 1 (second century B. C.)	10.5 to 40.3
	Group 2 (two coins, vase reverse)	2.5 each
	Group 3 (tree and vase)	4.00 to 9.00
	Group 4 (lion reverse)	3.4 to 7.5
	Group 5 (bull reverse)	3.5 to 10.5
	Group 6 (king's head)	6.5 to 9.4
	Group 7 (fantail peacock)	6.3 to 12.0
	Group 8 (various)	2.6 to 16
Classes B and C		1.7 to 15

Weights of six coins found at Rairh have been recorded by K. N. Puri[94] which are as follows: 43.84, 6.53, 2.41, 12.05, 7.56, 8.47 and 8.02. While the maximum weight of the Rairh finds is thus heavier than the heaviest Indian Museum specimen by 3.54 grains only, the minimum weight of the Rairh piece is close to the Group 2 coins of the Indian Museum specimen. Weights of the coins belonging to Nelson Wright have not been noted by Douglas, but had they been substantially different, it would have been brought to our notice. The maximum and minimum weights of the coins belonging to the cabinet of the Indian Museum, recorded by Bidyabinod[95] are 14.6 and 2.3 grains. Thus while the maximum weight falls within the range of the weights of the coins noted by Smith, the minimum weight of Bidyabinod's coin is only ·2 grain less than that of Smith's coin.

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[93] *Op. cit.*, p. 163. [94] *Op. cit.*, pp. 65-66. [95] *SCCIM*, p. 37f.

A glance at these tables of weights will show that the Mālavas almost certainly followed the indigenous *paṇa* standard. What is of importance to note that a full *paṇa* piece of 144.6 or 146 grains has not come to light as yet. A half *paṇa* piece is also unknown. The Rairh coin weighing 43.85 seems to be a $\frac{5}{16}$th *paṇa* (of 45 grains), the difference in weight probably being due to corrosion. The same remark applies also to the Indian Museum coin weighing 40.3 grains. Coins weighing 16 and 10.5 grains may be looked upon as attempts to conform to the $\frac{1}{8}$th *paṇa*, i.e. *kākini* and $\frac{1}{16}$th *paṇa* standards, the differences in weight between the normal standard and the actual weight of the coins concerned may be accounted for by wear and tear or lack of metrological accuracy and careleseness on the part of the mint-masters responsible for their manufacture. While coins weighing 4 or 3.4 grains are understandably $\frac{1}{32}$nd *paṇa* pieces, it is difficult to say what economic purpose was served by the coin with 1.7 grains in weight and ·2 diameter, which happens to be 'one of the smallest coins in the world'. It is also difficult to imagine how such a tiny coin could have been used, as it was used for centuries. Not to speak of this tiniest coin alone, the above remark is more or less applicable to all coins of strangely small sizes and denominations.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE MĀLAVAS

The above discussion on the metrology leads to a conclusion that the Mālava coinage was confined to Nagar and its environs. Subsequent discovery of the Mālava coins at Rairh does not affect seriously or modifies the position taken up by Carlleyle, the original discoverer of the Mālava coinage, who pointed out the local character of the Mālava coins, inasmuch as Rairh is only 34 miles far from Nagar. In short, there is every reason to subscribe to the conclusion arrived at by Carlleyle[96] that barring a handful of coins of extraneous origin, "the whole of the coins found at Nagar were exclusively of Nagar mintage belonging to Nagar alone".

This may go to show the exclusively narrow scope of the Mālava coinage, whose utility was of a local character, being confined to a small area like Nagar. Rairh, another findspot, either economically or politically was attached to Nagar. Localisation of the currency of the Mālavas at and around Nagar is a significant fact which, if considered along with another feature, viz. the comparatively small weight of the issues may naturally lead to the conclusion that these were meant to be issued in local transactions. It may appear from their currency that the Mālavas were probably a self-sufficient agricultural community for whom high-valued coins were not needed. This is not a peculiar feature of Mālava economy, for a host of tribes in ancient India did not issue any coin at all.

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[96] *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

POLITICAL CONDITION AND ORGANISATION OF THE MĀLAVAS

The antiquity of the Mālavas has been pushed back to the fifth century B. C., the period of Pāṇini. Their history which is obscure in that century becomes a little clear in the next century, for the Classical writers inform us that they offered stubborn resistance to Alexander when the latter was marching victoriously through different regions of north and north-western India. But their resistance to the Macedonian hero was without any success, most of the Mālavas being put to the sword and as one of the informants states, the Malli, i.e. Mālavas who still survived 'sent their envoys to Alexander to offer submission'; one of their neighbours, the Oxydrakai, i.e. the Kshudrakas also followed them in this respect and from them 'came the leading men of their provincial governors, besides 150 of their most eminent men entrusted with full powers to conclude a treaty'. It may be said in this connection, that according to some Classical writers, the Mālavas and Kshudrakas made a joint move against Alexander. There is an apparent probability of the combined resistance of the Mālavas and Kshudrakas against the foreign enemy in view of their traditional league, but since some of the Classical writers state that the two tribes eventually failed to join their hands in the most needed hour, the precise nature of their fight against the foreign enemy is far from being certain.[97]

The Malloi-Mālavas met Alexander in the Punjab in 326 B. C. and were defeated by him. The fate of their neighbours, the Kshudrakas, was the same. After this the Kshudrakas are no longer heard of and it may be conjectured that they were amalgamated with the Mālavas.

The discovery of a large number of their coins, dated between the second century B. C. and the fourth century A. D., at Karkota Nagar in eastern Rajasthan shows that the Mālavas had built up an important centre of their power there. From coins assignable to the second century B. C.[97a] it is to be concluded that a settlement had already been formed by that time. In other words, a major section of the Mālavas (with whom the Kshudrakas seem to have been amalgamated) moved to Rajasthan and eventually established themselves at Karkota Nagar and its environs. Under what circumstances they set out for Rajasthan, it is not known at present, but it may be surmised that a sort of political pressure effected by the Indo-Greeks and Śakas thereafter, was the reason of their movement. The migration of the Śibis, another Punjab tribe, to Rajasthan may be recalled in this connection. Instances of movements of different tribes during practically the same period may show that the political condition of the Punjab in the second century B. C. was one of turmoil and confusion.

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[97] While Curtius states that the Malloi joined with the Sudracae and stood against Alexander under the leadership of a general of the latter (IX. 4), Diodorus says that the two tribes could not agree as to the choice of a leader and hence, could not take the field against the enemy (XVII. 98).

[97a] K. D. Bajpai finds similarity between the names of alleged Śaka chiefs occurring on the aforesaid coins (fn. 84) and those appearing on the Mālava coins, *BAIHA*, I. p. 10. But there is no definite evidence of the Śaka occupation of Malwa before the beginning of the second century A. D. Hence the theory of Śaka domination over Malwa in the second century B. C. seems to be untenable.

The Mālavas now settled down in Rajasthan where they carved out an independent principality. They probably considered this successful migration to Rajasthan and their ability to maintain their independence in the new home as an act of triumph (*jaya*). Some coins with the legend *Mālavānāṁ jaya* (p. 116f), attributable to this period (i.e. second-first century B. C.), may have reference to their successful migration from the Punjab and ultimate settlement in Rajasthan as an independent tribe. S. Chattopadhyay,[98] however, surmises that the Mālavas submitted to the King (*rājā*) Sarvatāta of the Ghosundi inscription[99] immediately before the beginning of the Christian era. This inscription supplies no evidence about the supposed victory of Sarvatāta over the Mālavas, though Sarvatāta was not an insignificant chieftain as is indicated by his performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

The real trouble of the Mālavas seems to have appeared in first-second century A. D. During the time of Nahapāna the Mālavas are found to have once tried to raise their head. From the reference to the hostility between the Uttamabhadras and the Mālavas in the Nasik inscription of Ushavadāta, it appears that the latter were probably trying to expand their power at the cost of the former. But as the record in question informs us, Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mālavas, after accomplishing which task he went to the Pushkara lake for taking a bath in its holy water, presumably to acquire religious merit.[100] Thus the Mālavas found their time not yet ripe for their emergence as a political power. During the time of Chashṭana the position of the Mālavas did not improve. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy appears to have included Tiataura,[101] probably identical with Chitor, in the dominion of Tiastanes, i.e. Chashṭana. If the identification of Tiataura with Chitor is correct, it may be inferred that the Mālavas living at Karkota Nagar, not far from Chitor, had to submit to Chashṭana. It is generally surmised that the family of Chashṭana began its career under the hegemony of the Kushāṇas.[102]

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[98] *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

[99] *SI*, p. 91.

[100] Some scholars are inclined to connect Ushavadāta's bath with his ceremonial consecration, Such a view is hardly tenable.

In the Junagadh inscription Rudradāman, the grandson of Chashṭana, is found to have claimed suzerainty over Ākara (Eastern Malwa), Avanti (Western Malwa) and Maru (South-eastern Rajasthan).[103] As the habitat of the Mālavas lay in between them, it is more than likely that the Mālavas acknowledged his suzerainty. If we accept the identification of Kukura, one of the provinces of Rudradāman's empire, with Eastern Rajasthan,[104] the theory of his authority over the Mālavas is further substantiated. In other words, Rudradāman may be believed to have exercised suzerainty over the Mālavas.

When the influence of the family of Chashṭana on the Mālavas was lost, it is not known at present. However, it is definite that on or before the date of the Nandsa record they succeeded in overthrowing the Śaka yoke. The said record bears ample testimony to the prosperity of the Mālavas, which was due to Śrī-Soma (as read by A. S. Altekar, *loc. cit*) or Nandisoma (as read by B. C. Chhabra and N. Lakshminarayan Rao, *Archaeology in India*, p. 188 and M. Venkataramayya, *IHQ*, XXIX, p. 80f) and his predecessors. Altekar[105] holds that it was Śrī-Soma who liberated the Mālavas from the Śaka domination by defeating either Rudrasena I (A. D. 200-22) or one of his younger brothers—Saṅghadāman (A. D. 222-23) or Dāmasena (A. D. 223-35). The defeated Śaka ruler, according to him, was most probably Saṅghadāman. The Mālavas thus reasserted their independence in the third century A. D. and some of their coins bearing *Mālavānāṁ jaya* may be believed to have commemorated this victory.

The era of prosperity of the Mālavas continued till the rise of Samudragupta. The Gupta monarch in course of expanding his sway over different parts of India came in contact with the Mālavas whom he forced to acknowledge his supremacy. Thus sometime about the middle of the fourth century A. D. the Mālavas received a setback, but it may be believed that their submission to Samudragupta did not amount to their complete loss of independence. The Mālavās seem to have enjoyed an autonomous position.

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[101] The Greek writers used *ṭa* in place of *cha* in rendering Indian names into Greek. For the identification of Tiataura with Chitor, see McCrindle, *Ptolemy* (edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri), p. 156. Also B. N. Mukherjee's *Lower Indus Country*. c. A.D. 1-150, Bk. II, Ch. 4 (unpublished).

[102] *AIU*, p. 182f; *CCBM*, AWK & c, pp. cvi-cvii.

[103] *EI*, VIII, p. 44.

[104] For Kukura's identification with Eastern Rajasthan, see Bhagavanlal Indraji, *Bombay Gazetteer*, II, i, p. 36, fn. 7.

[105] *VGA*, p. 32. Also *EI*, XXVII, p. 260.

The Mālavas described themselves as *gaṇa* when they were under a republican form of government in the second century B. C. This form of their government may also be traced to an earlier period as the evidence of the Classical accounts seem to show. Curiously enough, the word *gaṇa* is also used when the form of government appears to have lost at least some of its early republican features in the third century A. D. as is known from the Nandsa record, although it cannot be said definitely that the government was even then a monarchy in every respect (see below). However, the use of the word *gaṇa* in both cases may be an indication of the fact that the Mālavas continued to use it about themselves even when its generally known political significance was changed with the assumption of the leadership of a family of rulers belonging to the Sogi clan. It may be noted here that the word *janapada* occurs on a Mālava seal though this is never found on any Mālava coin so far discovered.

We may conclude with a comment on the political organisation of the Mālavas as revealed in the Nandsa record. In the first half of the third century A. D. a hereditary line of rulers established itself in the position of leadership, which was probably consolidated as a result of military achievements.[106] The title *Mahāsenāpati* is found to have been used by Bhaṭṭisoma of the Sogi clan mentioned in a record discovered at Nandsa found along with records of Śrī-soma already referred to. If the identification of this Bhaṭṭisoma with Śrī-soma is accepted, it will appear that the members of the family rose to power from a military origin and the basis of the authority exercised by the family over the Mālava State (*Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya*) was a military one (cf. the case of Pushyamitra of earlier days). Nevertheless, the non-use of the titles like *rājā* and *mahārāja* by the chiefs like Śrī-soma or Bhaṭṭisoma indicates that even under this military regime the *gaṇa* traditions of the Mālavas had not passed into oblivion.

Ethnology of the Mālavas

The Mālavas, who are supposed to have belonged to the *āyudhajīvī saṁgha*, drew the admiration of foreign observers for their excellent fighting qualities. As one of the Classical writers says, in the art of war they "were far superior to the other nations by which Asia was at that time inhabited". Tribute is paid to them by another author as "a race of independent Indians".

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[106] *EI*, XXVII, p. 266f. The identification of Bhaṭṭisoma with Śrī-Soma is not definite, but the reference to a *Mahāsenāpati* as a ruler is significant.

Some of these Classical writers furnish interesting details about their physiognomy also. One of them,[107] for instance, says that "they were of great stature and were amongst the tallest men in Asia. Their complexion was black, but they were very simple in their habits".

Strikingly enough, the Mālavas are later described almost in the the same manner in ancient Indian literature also. Texts like the *Vishṇudharmottaram* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* divide human beings (i.e. Indians in the context) into five standardized types—Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śaśaka for purposes of their representation in art and furnish details about the physical peculiarities of each of these types. The *Vishṇudharmottaram*[108] describing a Mālavya of 104 *aṅgulas* in measure, observes that he is "dark like the *mudga* pulse (kidney bean) with a body very beautiful on account of the slender waist with arms reaching up to the knees, with broad shoulder, broad jaws and nose like that of an elephant". According to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*,[109] a Mālayva is of 108 *aṅgulas* in measure, not 104 as stated in the text quoted above, and "is marked by arms resembling an elephant's trunk, and by hands reaching to the knees". It goes on saying that "his members and joints are fleshy, he has a well-proportioned and neat frame and a slender waist". "His face", moreover, is "of oblong form"; it measures 13 digits, the transverse measure between the ears being 3 digits less." Other peculiarities noted are "fiery eyes, comely cheeks, even and white teeth and not-too-thick lips".

Though some idea may be formed about the general physical appearance of the Malloi or the Mālavas with the help of these accounts, the question of their ethnic origin and affiliations may not be so easily settled. From what the Classical sources and the *Vishṇudharmottaram* record about their complexion, it may be said that it is not the characteristic of the Aryan-speaking Nordic race. The Mālavas with their striking height and not-too-thick lips exhibit features which are not those of a typical Australoid. It seems, however, from the accounts noted above, that some Australoid traits were present in the physical make-up of the tribe.

A curious point is raised having a bearing on ethnology by the mention of words of almost inexplicable construction. On some coins the names were known to be associated with the Mālavas. According to one view, these words are actually personal names of foreign origin as they sound much non-Indian. But unless the riddle presented by the names is definitely solved, no conclusion is possible which may be useful in investigating the origin of the Mālava tribe. If these words denoting names were those used by chiefs of Mālava origin and not of outsiders, it may be asked: why such names sounding non-Indian were in use amongst the people of the tribe known to be Indian as early as the fourth century B. C. In the third century A.D., as the Nandsa inscription shows, the Mālava ruling stock enjoyed a status as high as that of the Ikshvākus (*Ikshvāku-prathitarājarshi-vaṁśe Mālava-vaṁśe*, etc.). Śrī-Soma (or Nandi-Soma), a Mālava chief, already mentioned, is said to have performed a Vedic sacrifice like the *Ekashasṭirātra*. In this connection it needs to be mentioned that this Mālava chief was the leader of the Sogi clan (*Sogi-netā*) and Altekar informs us that the Sogis still exist in Mewar as a caste-group.[110] The reference to a particular clan in this record may indicate that there were other clans of the tribe, though not yet known.[111]

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[107] McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 85.

[108] III. 85, Kramrisch's translation, p. 32.

[109] Chapter LXIX ; Kern's translation, *JRAS*, 1875, p. 94.

A possible survival of the name *Mālava* may be found "in the close community of the Brahmins called *Mālavī*—now Sanskritized as *Mālavīya*—a fair and handsome people with marked intellectuality and sharpness of business intelligence. They do not marry outside their own community". They are found in Gujarat on the one hand and Madhyapradesh and Uttarapradesh on the other.[112]

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[110] See *EI*, XXVII, p. 256. I have failed to trace any caste-group in Mewar called the Sogis. I am not sure, however, whether the present Sogani clan, a business community of Rajasthan, has any connection whatsoever with the Sogis of the Nandsa inscription.

[111] The Maukharis, as known from the Badva inscriptions of Kṛita 295. i.e. of A.D. 238 (*EI*, XXIII, p. 42f) acknowledged the supremacy of the Mālava republic and may have belonged to the Mālava stock like the Sogis, see. *AMVT*, p. 7.

[112] *ABORI*, XIII, p. 229. Malvis, found chiefly in Malwa, seem to have had their original home in Madhya Pradesh, cf. Bhattacharya, J. N., *Hindu Castes and Sects*, pp. 56, 83. One of the great leaders of India, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, belonged to this community.

CHAPTER 8

THE RĀJANYAS

More than a century ago, Prinsep discovered the coinage of the Rājanyas. He drew specimens of the coinage in question in his own hand and read the legend on them as *Rajñapadasa*.[1] This was also the reading of Cunningham as published in his *Reports*, XIV, p. 151. Later, Cunningham[2] proposed another reading—*Maharajasa janapa* (*dasa*). It is on the basis of the second reading of Cunningham, that Jayaswal[3] postulated the existence of a state called *Mahārāja-janapada*, the antiquity of which he tried to trace in Pāṇini, and even went to the extent of saying that "it is not certain as to what form of government they followed, in the time of Pāṇini, but their system is clearly republican of the democratic type in the Śuṅga period, as evidenced by their coins". Jayaswal was followed by S. K. Chakrabortty,[4] only to be corrected by Allan[5] who had pointed out that "the coins in question really have the inscription *Rajañajanapadasa*". And this has been established by more specimens that subsequently came to light. Thus the theory of Jayaswal and Chakrabortty regarding *Mahārāja-janapada* falls to the ground.

Cunningham's[6] first reading of the legend in question *Rajña*, which was nearly right, was later on correctly read by Vincent Smith[7] as *Rajaña*. The word *Rajaña* corresponds to Sanskrit *Rājanya* and Smith[8] and Rapson[9] took it to be a synonym of Kshatriya. Rapson explained the legend *Rajaña janapadasa* as meaning 'coin of the Kshatriya country'. According to Jayaswal,[10] this evidence points to the existence of another *janapada* of the name of *Rājanya* besides the *Mahārāja janapada* which he supposed to have existed in reality. But unlike Smith, he took the word *Rajaña* or *Rājanya* as signifying the 'proper name of a political people'. Jayaswal's view seems to be supported by ancient Indian literature which on several occasions refer to a people called Rājanyas. Thus the present coins in combination with literary evidence prove the existence of a tribe called Rājanyas in India in pre-Christian days.

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[1] *PE*, p. 223, Pl. XLIV, figs. 18 and 19.

[2] *CAI*, p. 69. Cunningham read the Kharoshṭhī legend on Prinsep's specimen (*PE*, Pl. XLIV, 19) as such. The Brāhmī legend has been read by him as *Rajña Janapadasa* (*op. cit.*, p. 89) on another specimen.

[3] *HP*, p. 152.

[4] *AIN*, p. 189. Also *NS*, XLVI, p. 8.

[5] *CCBM*, p. civ,

[6] *CASR*, XIV, p. 151.

[7] *CCIM*, p. 164.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *CHI*, I, p. 528.

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.

ANTIQUITY AND HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

True it is that *Rājanya* is a synonym of the term *Kshatriyas,* but since Pāṇini[11] in his *Gaṇapāṭha* specifically refers to a people named Rājanyas, it is reasonable to take the term in that sense in the present case. Their name finds mention in later grammatical texts also such as the *Mahābhāshya,*[12] *Chāndravyākaraṇa,*[13] *Kāśikā*[14] and *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa.*[15] The *Mahābhārata*[16] groups the Rājanyas with the Śibis, Trigarttas, Yaudheyas, Madras, Kaikeyas, etc. and thus show them to be northerners. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[17] also mentions them among the peoples of the north. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*[18] places them in north-eastern India. Among these references the earliest is found in the *Gaṇapāṭha* which may be assigned to the fifth century B. C. Their coins on palaeographical grounds may be assigned to the second-first centuries B. C.

The Rājanyas may also be taken as identical with the Kshatriyas of Indian literature. If it be so, they appear to have been mentioned by the Classical writers[19] under the name of Kathaioi or Xathroi. The Rājanyas may not be unconnected with the Kshatriyas of the *Arthaśāstra*[20] and the Khatiyas of the Nasik inscription[21] of the mother of the celebrated Sātavāhana monarch, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (for details see below).

In determining the habitat of the Rājanyas, some help can be obtained from the findspots of their coins. Cunningham[22] informs us that the coins of the 'Raja-janapada' (he could not correctly read the name of the tribe) were occasionally procurable at the city of Mathura. He further says that many of the coins included in the plate VIII of his *CAI* where one finds the reproduction of a coin of the Rājanyas, were brought for sale to him from the environs of Mathura. This statement of Cunningham led Vincent Smith[23] to locate the Rājanya territory "not far from Mathura and presumably in some parts of eastern Rajputana". Noticing a close relationship between the coins of the Rājanyas and those of the Northern Satraps of Mathura, Smith[24] went a step further in locating the Rājanya territory precisely in the old Dholpur State of eastern Rajasthan.

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[11] IV. 2. 53. Pāṇini also uses the word 'Rājanya' in the sense of a Kshatriya of a consecrated family, as is evident from another *sūtra,* VI. 2.34, of his work.

[12] IV. 2. 52.

[13] III. 1. 62.

[14] IV. 2. 53.

[15] IV. 2. 86.

[16] II. 50. 14.

[17] XIV. 28 ; Fleet calls them Kshatriyas, *IA.* XXII, p. 182.

[18] LVIII. 47.

[19] *CAIR,* pp. 47, 170, 259, etc.

[20] III. 144. 11. 1.

[21] *EI,* VIII, p. 72f.

[22] *CAI,* p. 85.

[23] *Op. cit.,* p. 164.

[24] *Op. cit.,* p. 165

But as regards the findspots of the coins of the Rājanyas in the collection of the Indian Museum, Smith does not record any evidence.[24] His information was derived from Cunningham and J. P. Rawlins. The latter who presented some coins of the Rājanyas from his private collection to the British Museum informed Smith[25] that his coins had been found on the Manaswal plateau, Hoshiarpur District of eastern Punjab. The information furnished by Rawlins is in agreement with the data relating to the habitat of the Rājanyas obtainable from ancient Indian literary texts, since the latter also describe the Rājanyas as a people of the North (cf. the *Mahābhārata*, *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, etc.). In other words, literary evidence combined with the information relating to the provenances of the coins of the Rājanyas as furnished by Rawlins tend to place the tribe in eastern Punjab or the Beas-Sutlej Doab. This seems to have led Jayaswal[26] to take Hoshiarpur as the original habitat of the tribe. On a review of the available material it will appear that the Rājanyas lived in eastern Punjab and in eastern Rajasthan. Originally they may have belonged to the Punjab whence they probably migrated to Rajasthan along with other Punjab tribes and occupied its eastern part.

COINS OF THE RĀJANYAS

There are seven coins of the Rājanyas in the collection of the Indian Museum and sixteen coins in the British Museum. Allan in his *Catalogue* has assigned two more coins (p. 212, nos. 17 and 18) to this tribe, but the attribution is not certain. About a couple of decades back A. S. Altekar and H. V. Trivedi brought to our notice three more coins of the Rājanyas belonging to the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Trivedi in an article in the pages of *JNSI*, XIX, pt. 1, gave a description of them with a photographic reproduction (*ibid.*, Pl. IV, 3). All these coins[27] have established the existence of the Rājanyas on a solid basis, definitely disproving Cunningham's reading *Maharaja Janapadasa.*

The coins of the Rājanyas are of die-struck and cast varieties. They are made either of copper or of brass, and are round in shape. All of them belong to one particular type, viz. standing figure : bull, and are divisible into two classes according as the connected legends are in Brāhmī or Kharoshṭhī.

[25] *Ibid.* [26] *Op. cit.*, p. 152

[27] About two years back V. V. Mirashi and B. Deshpande published a coin, attributing it to the Rājanyas, see *JNSI*, XXXI, pt. 2, pp. 177-79. On my query regarding its attribution to the tribe, Mirashi informed me in a letter dated 10.9.71, that the said coin was actually of the city of Tagara and not of the Rājanya-*gaṇa* as he had previously thought.

CLASS 1

Variety A

Obverse : Female deity (Lakshmī ?) standing facing, holding an object perhaps a lotus in raised right hand. Legend in Kharoshṭhī : *Rajañojanapadasa.*

Reverse : Humped bull to left in a rayed circle. (*CN 91*)

N. B. The usual rayed circle is not visible on the reverse of the Indian Museum specimen and instead, a symbol above the bull is traceable. The British Museum specimens, however, show the rayed circle.

Variety B

Obverse : Same, and the legend is in usual Kharoshṭhī.

Reverse : Same, but there is a crescent over the head and a symbol (vajra ?) over the back of the bull. (*CN 92*)

N. B. Cunningham read the Kharoshṭhī[28] legend on a coin of this variety as *Maharaja-janapada.* He further erroneously included this coin in the Audumbara series.

CLASS 2

Variety A

Obverse : Similar to Variety of Class 1, but the legend is in Brāhmī : *Ra*(*ā*)*jaña janapadasa.*

Reverse : Same as in Variety A of Class 1. (*CN 93a-b*)

N. B. Cunningham mistakenly called the *janapada* to which coins of this class belong as *Raja janapada* (*CAI*, p. 89). There are two coins in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society. One of it, similar to the coins of the Variety *a* of Class 1 of the *CCBM*, "bears some additional symbols on the left edge of the reverse", though they are not distinct ; the other coin, on which the letters are very clear, appears to be restruck ; its obverse has an incuse due to the hard pressure of the die.

Variety B

Obverse : Human figure sitting under a canopy facing. Same Brāhmī legend.

Reverse : Same as in Variety A.

N. B. This variety is represented by the round copper coin now in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society. It may be described as unique, since no coin of the tribe showing a seated human figure has so far been noted. Another interesting feature of this coin lies in "an additional letter or symbol at V", though the symbol is not clear.

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[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

DEVICES AND SYMBOLS ON THE COINS

The two devices of the Rājanya coins are the standing figure and the bull. The standing figure recalling a similar one to be found on the Northern Satrapal coins has been taken by Allan[29] as of Lakshmī. The reproductions of the coins in question in the *British Museum Catalogue* and that of one of the coins of the American Numismatic Society (here Class 2, Variety A, *CN 93a*) tend to support Allan's statement. The object held by the figure also is not very clear. Trivedi[30] on the other hand holds that all the three coins (including the one noted above) belonging to the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society "distinctly shows it to be a male figure, resembling the one to be found on some of the Ujjain coins (*BMC*, Pl. XXXVIII, No. **6** ; *JNSI*, XVI, Pl. I, No. 23)". The reproduction of a coin of the Variety A of Class 2 in the Plate XXI of *CCIM* (no. 11) does not help much in identifying the figure as that of a male. Considering everything it seems probable that the representation is that of a female, presumably of Lakshmī.

The other device is a bull, so frequently used on ancient Indian coins, and already discussed by us in connection with other coinages. On Rājanya coins the bull is of prominently humped variety. The hump, however, is not distinct on all specimens, due to their corroded condition, but on some (e.g. a specimen in the American Numismatic Society, *loc. cit.*) it is quite clear. The placing of the bull in a rayed circle is interesting ; it shows not only the sanctity enjoyed by the animal, but also a divine character attributed to it.

As regards other symbols, most of them are indistinct. The object held by the human figure has been taken by Allan to be a lotus, the figure being a representation of Lakshmī. The symbol over the back of the bull has been doubtfully identified by S. K. Chakrabortty[31] with thunderbolt (*vajra*). The other symbol appearing over the head of the bull may be taken to be a crescent.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

Copper coins in the collection of the Indian Museum weigh between 50.4 and 79 grains while the brass coins weigh between 22 and 68.2

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[29] *Op. cit.*, p. cxxiii ; also pp. 210-12. Allan puts a query after the word 'deity' and before 'Lakṣmī' on coins having Brāhmī inscriptions, but states that the figure on the Rājanya coins closely resembles the Mathura deity, *ibid.*, p. 210. It may be noted here that as on the Mathura pieces, so also on some Rājanya coins the human figure, either a male or a female, stands on an object, generally represented by a wavy line.

[30] *JNSI*, XXI, pt. 1, p. 12.

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 189. Also *NS*, XLVI, p. 8.

grains. The British Museum collection has a coin of heavy weight of 121 grains. It has also a coin of a very small weight of 15 grains. The minimum and maximum weights seem to have conformed to the *paṇa* standard of 144 or 146 grains with possibility of the original weight being reduced due to corrosion or other reasons.[32] The standard weight had its multiples and subdivisions which cannot be definitely specified.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINS

Generally Rājanya coins are ascribed to the second-first centuries B.C.[33] Rapson[34] thinks that the coins with Kharoshṭhī legends may belong to an earlier date. There is one letter on some coins of the Rājanyas which looks very much like Kharoshṭhī *da* in the legend *-janapadasa*. The cursive form of Brāhmī *da* as these coins show may have been influenced by the form of the corresponding letter of the Kharoshṭhī alphabet.

According to C. C. Dasgupta,[35] the coins of the Rājanyas having Kharoshṭhī legends are to be ascribed to the first century B. C. He observes on this point : "It is not possible to be convinced of Allan's placing of these coins in the second century B. C. as there is no difference between these coins on one hand and the coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas from the standpoint of palaeography." Too much reliance cannot be placed on a mere palaeographical study, which in the present circumstances is not as minute as desirable. The estimate arrived at by Smith and Allan placing these coins in the second-first century B. C. seems to be reasonable as it explains some of the factors of Rājanya history more satisfactorily. It is, however, uncertain which of the two classes, those bearing Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends, is earlier than the other.

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONDITION OF THE RĀJANYAS

The word *Rājanya* is met with in the *puṛushasūkta* in the *Ṛigveda* (X.90.12) which dwells on the quadruple divisions of the society. The *sūkta* says that when the peoples of the four divisions "divided the primeval being (*Purusha*), the Brāhmaṇa was his mouth, the Rājanya became his arms, the Vaiśya was his thighs, and from his feet sprang the Śūdras". Since the *sūkta* is generally believed to be a later interpolation in the *Ṛigveda,* it becomes difficult to push back the antiquity of the word *Rājanya* to the days of the *Ṛigveda. Rājanya,* however, finds mention in the *Atharvaveda* (V. 17.9 ; X. 1. 3), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2. 1. 40), *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 184), *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVI. 6. 7), *Kaushītaki Upanishad* (II. 9), *Āpastambha Śrauta Sūtra* (XVII. 26. 18), *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XIV. 3. 20), *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (IX. 10. 4) and other later Vedic and Sūtra texts. A careful study of these Vedic references to *Rājanya* will show that it was a synonym of *Kshatriya*, the name of second order of the four-fold division of the Indian society. The epics also mention the Rājanyas ; as for instance, it is stated in the *Āśvamedhikaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (116. 21) that a Rājanya (i.e. Kshatriya) through devotion to Vishṇu is destined to obtain victory in the battlefield. Patañjali appears to have shown respect to the Rājanyas, when he says that one should use the honorific 'bho' while addressing a *Rājanya* (VIII. 2. 82-83).

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[32] If the Rājanya coins are taken to have conformed to the *paṇa* standard, the coins weighing 50.4 grains and 121.0 grains respectively, for example, may represent $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{7}{8}$ *paṇas*. The coin weighing 15 grains may easily be taken as a half *kākiṇī* or $\frac{1}{8}$ *paṇa* (i.e. 18 grains), the difference of 3 grains may be due to corrosion.

[33] *CCIM*, p. 165. [34] *RIC*, p. 12. [35] *DKS*, p. 66.

It needs to be remembered that there is hardly any evidence in the various texts quoted above to show that the name *Rājanya* or *Kshatriya* has been used in a tribal sense. But these terms came to be applied as tribal designations also. Thus the *Arthaśāstra*[86] refers to the Kshatriyas along with the Saurāshṭras describing them as engaged in the professions connected with the *vārttā* (trade and agriculture) and *śastra* (military pursuits). In the Nasik *praśasti*[87] it is stated that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi destroyed the conceit and pride of the Khatiyas, i.e. Kshatriyas. Here the term *Kshatriya* evidently denotes a tribe of the same name, not a caste-designation. The questions now arise : Who were these Kshatriyas of the *Arthaśāstra* and the Nasik inscription ? Were they identical with the Rājanyas of the coins ?

Let us turn our attention to the accounts of the Classical authors. Names bearing resemblance to *Kshatriya* are met with in the Classical writings. One is the *Kathaioi*[88] (or *Cathaeans*), the other is the *Xathroi.*[89] About the former different proposals have been made for their location in the Punjab. Though they have been identified with different tribes, the evidence on which such identifications are based does not seem to be conclusive. The name *Kathaioi* may bear some connection with *Kshatriya*, but in this case also definite evidence is lacking. The other name, that of the *Xathroi,* who have been placed along the lower course of the Indus may signify an origin similar to that of the Kshatriyas. Ptolemy[40] refers to a people called the *Khatriaoi* to whom he assigns six cities lying some east and west of the Indus. Among them one was called Soudasanna which seems to be the same as Sadūsān, a place located by Ibn Haukal,[41] a tenth-century Arab geographer, in Sind and to the west of the Indus. These Khatriaoi of Ptolemy may be taken identical with the Kshatris (Kshatriyas ?) of the Sanskrit literature,[42] a people who were, according to the *Manusmṛiti* (X. 13. 16), of impure origin. Whatever may have been the Indian equivalents of Kathaioi or Xathroi or Khatriaoi, the fact remains that they belonged to the Punjab and the lower Indus valley.[43]

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[86] III. 114. 11. 1.

[87] *EI*, VIII, p. 72f.

[88] Arrian, V. 22 ; Diodorus, XVII. 91 ; Strabo, XV. 30.

[89] Arrian, VI. 15.

If the *Arthaśāstra* reference applies to the Kshatriyas as residents of a region adjacent to Surāshṭra, it will agree with the evidence of the Classical writers who place the Xathroi on the lower reaches of the Indus and that of Ptolemy who locates the Khatriaoi in about the same region, provided of course, these non-Indian forms of names can be equated with *Kshatriyas*. The Nasik inscription also tends to locate the Khatiyas (i.e. Kshatriyas) in the lower Indus country.

On the point of the Rājanyas being identical with a tribe, there is of course the incontrovertible evidence of coins. These Rājanyas have possibly been referred to as the Kshatriyas in the *Arthaśāstra* and the Nasik *praśasti*. But so far as the Kshatriyas are concerned, it has to be admitted that no coins of a tribe bearing this name have yet been obtained. Although they may be related to the Rājanyas of the coins, the latter from numismatic evidence appear to have remained in the Punjab and may have sent an offshoot to eastern Rajasthan.

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[40] VII. 1. 64.

[41] *Ashkalu-l-Bilad*, see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, p. 34.

[42] McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 156n. Cunningham identified the Khatriaoi with the Rājanyas, *CASR*, XVI, p. 151.

[43] The name of the Kshatriyas seems to have survived in the Khatris of the Punjab and Sind. Rose, however, points out that the Kshatris, a low caste and distinct from the Kshatriyas, are unknown in the modern Punjab, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of Punjab and North-western Frontier Province*, II, p. 505 fn.

CHAPTER 9

THE ŚIBIS

In 1834 Colonel Stacy[1] obtained two coins of the Śibis at or near Chitor. They remained for nearly 40 years the only coins of the tribe when in 1872 Carlleyle obtained seven more coins at Tambavati Nagari or simply Nagari, situated about seven miles to the north of Chitor.[2] On a careful scrutiny of these coins the complete legend was restored which runs thus: *Majhamikāya Śibi janapadasa.*[3] Carlleyle found another such specimen at Chitor.[4] Subsequently D. R. Bhandarkar and Roshanlal Samar obtained some more coins in the neighbourhood of Chitor.[5] All these coins reveal the existence of the *janapada* of a tribe called the Śibis. The findspots of the coins in question tend to show that Chitor and its neighbourhood formed the habitat of the tribe.

ANTIQUITY OF THE TRIBE

The *Ṛigveda* in course of describing the famous battle of ten kings (*dāśarājña*) mentions a tribe called the Śivas. The Śivas, according to the *Saṁhitā*, were defeated along with nine other tribes by the Bharata king named Sudās somewhere between the Vipāś and the Parushṇī, i.e. Ravi.[6] The date of the battle is not known, but it could not possibly have been later than the beginning of the first millennium B. C. From the Vedic evidence it appears that the Śivas were one of the ancient peoples of the Punjab.

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[1] *PE*, I, pp. 112-14, Pl. VIII, 2-3.

[2] *CASR*, VI, p. 200. At one of the sites at Nagari a mound in the citadel on which the modern temple of Mahādeva is perched, D. R. Bhandarkar brought to light the remains of a square stūpa. During the fifth century A. D. this stūpa "appears to have been converted into a Śaiva temple, a notable remnant of which is a unique though fragmentary *toraṇa*, adorned with lotus designs and conventional devices as well as with panels containing scenes from Śiva's life". The other site examined by Mr. Bhandarkar is known locally as Hatibada, and is situated about a mile east of village. It consists of a rectangular enclosure in the debris over the original floor of which Bhandarkar found some coins of the Śibis, vide *ASI*, AR 1915-16, pt. 1, p. 15. For some occasional surface finds of the Śibi coins at Nagari, see *JASB*, 1887, p. 14.

[3] *CASR*, VI, pp. 201-2 ; *CASR*, XIV, p. 146. The legend is clear in Prinsep's drawings in his *Essays*. Cunningham read it as *Majhimikāya Sibi janapadasa* (*CASR*, XIV, p. 146). Carlleyle's reading *Majhamikāya shi bījanapadasa* meaning 'the centrical glory, the fan-footed one' (*CASR*, VI, p. 202) is to be rejected. Allan's interpretation (*CCBM*, p. cxxiv, cxxv) of *Majhimika* (*sic*) as 'middle country' cannot be supported as its use in that sense is not known. The correct reading, according to us, is *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa*, as the medial sign on *jha* is not clear on any coin. For the interpretation of the legend, see later.

[4] *CASR*, VI, p. 201.

[5] *ASI*, AR, 1915–16, pt. 1, p. 15 and *JNSI*, IX, p. 83, Pl. V. According to Samar, the type which he came across in 1940 is a 'unique' one. In his words, "the new coin is a small round piece, the diameter being ·55″ and the weight being about 35 grains". For details, see later,

The tribal name *Śivi* (=*Śibi*) found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[7] seems to be a variant of the form *Śiva* of the *Ṛigveda*. The latter text refers to Amitratāpana a king of the Śibis. *Ṛigveda* X. 179 has been ascribed by the *Anukramaṇī* to Śibi-Auśīnara. The Classical writers[8] like Diodorus, Strabo, Curtius and others refer to a Punjab tribe called Siboi or Sibae. They locate the tribe at the confluence of the Hydaspes, i.e. Vipāśā, and Akesines, i.e. Chandrabhāgā. Mentioned in connection with Alexander's campaign, the Siboi were no other than the Indian Śivas or the Śibis. The Classical writers have, however, described them as wearing like Herakles, carrying clubs and branding their cattle and mules with the mark of a club. In other words, the Siboi or the Śibis used to wear the skins of wild beasts and used clubs as their weapons. What is of importance to note here is that the Classical authors were also aware of a Punjab tribe called the Śivas or Śibis (the Siboi or the Sibae) belonging to the time of Alexander who may be identified with the Śivas of the *Ṛigveda* and the Śivis of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[9]

While commenting on the *vārttika* on Pāṇini's *sūtra* (IV. 2. 104—*avyayāt tyap*) Patañjali refers to one Śivapura or Śaivapura and describes it as an *udīchyagrāma*, i.e. 'northern village'. In connection with another Pāṇinian *sūtra* (IV. 2. 52—*vishayo deśe*) Patañjali speaks of *Śaiba* or *Śibayaḥ*, evidently name of a country derived after a tribe of the name *Śibi*. These two pieces of evidence culled from the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali tend to show that there was a tribe called Śibi, and Śivapura was probably one of their cities, which was situated in the North. It should be noted in this connection that while the name Śivapura suggests that the place thus called was a city, probably the capital or the chief city of the tribe, Patañjali's reference shows it to be a *grāma*. The Buddhist text *Mahāmāyūrī*[10] while speaking of the tutelary deities of different places of India refers to Śivapura and its tutelary deity Śiva. Sylvain Levi[11] connects Śivapura of the Buddhist text, mentioned above, with its namesake described as *udīchyagrāma* by Patañjali. Attention may be drawn to an inscription[12] found at Shorkot in the Jhang district lying between the Ravi and Chenab, palaeographically assignable to the fifth century A. D., which also mentions a place called Śibipura. J. Ph. Vogel, who edits the inscription, observes that the name Śibipura preserves the name of the ancient tribe and hence he is inclined to consider the mound of Shorkot, the findspot of the inscription, as representing the site of the city of the Śibis. Definite mention of the tribe is also found in the *Chāndravyākaraṇa,*[13] a grammatical work of repute, the date of which is not very far from that of the Shorkot inscription.

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[6] For a description of the battle, see *CHI*, I, p. 82, *VA*, pp. 245-46.

[7] VIII. 23. 10.

[8] Diodorus, XVIII. 96 ; Strabo, XV. 1 ; Curtius, IX, 41.

[9] The authors of the *Vedic Index* also observe : "There can hardly be any doubt about their (i.e. of the Śivas) identity with the Σiβai or Σiβoi between the Indus and the Akesines in Alexander's time", p. 281.

[10] *JA*, 1915, pp. 37, 70. Also. *JUPHS*, XV, 2, pp. 27, 36. That Śivapura was more than a village appears from the fact that it is mentioned in the text as an *ahāra*, probably signifying a 'district town',

The references to the Śibis collected from different sources as mentioned above being related to different periods, it is difficult to say whether the seat of their government remained fixed throughout the ages to the same locality. The inscription, however, gives a definite clue to the location of its chief city in the Punjab in the fifth century A. D. Such definite evidence is not furnished by other sources, as noted above. But it is practically certain that all the references apply to the Śibis of the Punjab or its neighbourhood. This may be taken as a ground for suggesting the identification of Śivapura of Patañjali with Śibipura of the inscription. It is to be further noted that a local tradition also connects Shorkot with Śiva.[14] It appears highly probable that in the pre-Christian centuries a tribe named the Śibis (or Śivis or Śivas) lived in the Punjab, somewhere between Multan and Lahore, whose memory is preserved in the Shorkot inscription. The *Mahāvastu,*[15] in places of Gandhāra and Kamboja comprised in the list of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* of the early Pāli texts, mentions Śibi and Daśārṇa. This may suggest an early connection of the Śibi *janapada* with the North. Can this *janapada* be recognised in Śibipura-Shorkot of later days?

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[11] *JA*, 1915, p. 70.

[12] *EI*, XVI, p. 15f. The inscription bears a date 83, which has been taken by Vogel, as referring to the Gupta era. The palaeography of the inscription supports the view of Vogel. For a different reading of the inscription, see *JASP,* IX, p. 14.

[13] II. 3. 79, cf. *Śaibyeti yañaś cāpā bhavitavyam. Śibināṁ tu jātau tasyedam ity-aṇo ñlp,* Liebich's edition, p. 152.

[14] *CAGI*, p. 669. *Shor* of Shorkot seems to have been derived from Siaura and Siaura in turn from Śivapura ; *kot* meaning 'fort', added to *Shor,* suggests that there was a fort at Śivapura-Śibipura in olden times. It thus appears that 'in later history the old fort (i.e. kot) at Shorkot dominated mens' minds and the new name (i.e. Shorkot) became current',

[15] I. 34.

Are the Śiva-Śibis and Siboi-Sibae of indigenous and foreign sources identical with the Śibis of the coins? Though the Punjab has so far yielded no coin ascribable to them, from the evidence already discussed, their association with this region and its neighbourhood may be regarded as more or less certain. Their coins have been found in Nagari and its environs in Rajasthan where a section of them at least must have migrated in a subsequent period. If Carlleyle's attribution of the coins of the Śibis to 150 B. C.[16] on palaeographic grounds is accepted, it may be held that the migration took place in the third or second century B. C.

As to the antiquity of the tribe, the *Ṛigvedic* passage is to be read with the story of Uśīnara contained in a number of old literary texts.[17] According to the story, King Uśīnara who was eighth in descent from Anu, the son of Yayāti, had five wives Nṛiga, Kṛimi, Nava, Darva and Dṛishadvatī, from whom were born respectively five sons, Nṛiga, Kṛimi, Nava, Suvrata and Śivi, the last one being very prominent. Śivi, generally known as Śibi-Auśīnara, was the ancestor of the Śibi people. He is believed to have conquered practically the whole of the Punjab except the north-west corner and established through his sons four kingdoms which were (*i*) Vṛishadarbhas, also known as Śibis, (*ii*) the Sauvīras in Sind, (*iii*) the Kekayas in the modern districts of Gujrat and Shahpur between the Jhelum and the Chenab in Pakistan and (*iv*) the Madrakas with their capital at Sākala (modern Sialkot) in the Lahore Division of Pakistan. Thus according to the legend Śibi-Auśīnara occupied the whole of the Punjab. On the basis of the discovery of a relief from Swat valley depicting the well-known story[18] of Śibi King giving away the flesh of his own body to a hawk, N. L. Dey[19] conjectures that one of the early settlements of the Śibis was situated in the Swat valley. The frequent association of the Śibis with the Uśīnaras in old literary texts such as the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* testifies to the fame of the Śibis as a tribe in early times. If the *Anukramaṇī* of the *Ṛigveda*, mentioned above, and the reference to the Śivas in the *Ṛigveda* are to be relied upon, it will appear that the Śibis came to prominence in an early phase of the Vedic culture. In other words, sometime about 1000 B. C. the Śibis had already been established as a well-known tribe. The celebrity of the Śibis seems to have continued through the succeeding ages as will be attested by the *Jātakas* (see fn. 17), the *Mahābhārata* (see fn. 17), the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (with the variants *Śivi*, IV. 24 ; V. 67 ; XI. 59 ; XVI. 25 ; XVII. 19) and the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* (see fn. 13).

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[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

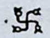
[17] Cf. *Mbh.* (III. 130. 21; XII. 29. 39), *Jātakas* (e.g. 469, 527, 541, etc.), *Purāṇas* (e.g. *Vāyu.* 99. 21-23; *Matsya*, 48. 18; *Bhāgavata*, I. 12. 20; II. 7. 45; VIII. 20. 7, etc.). For details see *AIHT*, p. 281. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II.9) mentions a people called the Uśīnaras and regards them as Northerners(*Uśīnareshu udichyeshu*), while the *Ṛigveda* (X.. 59.10) mentions a queen named Uśīnarāṇī. Pāṇini in II.4.20 and Patañjali in IV. 2. 118 include the country of the Uśīnaras in the Vāhikadeśa (Beas Valley of the Punjab).

[18] *Mbh.* (III. 130. 21), *Śivi Jātaka* (469) and several *Purāṇas.*

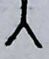
[19] *GDAMI*, p. 202.

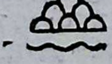
COINS OF THE ŚIBIS

As said at the outset, the credit for discovering the coins of the Śibis goes to Stacy and Carlleyle. After them Bhandarkar recovered some coins of the tribe in the course of excavations at Nagari on the Hathibada site. Later, R. L. Samar also procured some coins near Chitor. Coins of the Śibis found up till now are few in number, and most of them are but poor specimens.

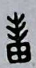
The Śibis issued coins in copper only. They are round in shape. The device and symbols that occur on them are bull, , , or or and  . The legend on the coins in Brāhmī is either *Śibijanapadasa* or *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa*, the latter being restored by Carlleyle and Cunningham from the specimens discovered at Tambavati Nagari. Later, this legend has also been met with on some of the coins procured by Samar. The coins of the Śibis may be divided into the following varieties on the basis of the symbols and legends occurring on them.

Variety A

Obverse :  Below *Śibijanapadasa*.

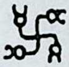
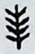
Reverse :  (*CN 94*)

Variety B

Obverse :  and another indistinct symbol. Below *Śib*(*i*) *janapadasa*.

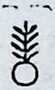
Reverse : A hybrid animal (perhaps a griffin), facing a post (?) an indistinct object below the animal. Below *Rājño* (?) (*CN 95*)

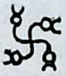
Variety C

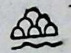
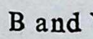
Obverse :   *-janapadasa.*

Reverse : Bull (?). (*CN 96*)

Variety D

Obverse :  . Circular legend *Śibijanapadasa.*

Reverse :  (*CN 97*)

The common feature in all these varieties is the tree symbol on the obverse and the legend, full or fragmented, is also the same, reading as *Śibijanapadasa.* But the reverse sides of the coins of these varieties bear different symbols such as hybrid animal, bull (?) and  and . Only in one case, in Variety B the coin possibly bears a legend on the reverse which has doubtfully been read as *Rājño.* As regards Variety A, it may be noted that there is a symbol like Brāhmī *ta* on the obverse while the reverse bears the usual six-arched mountain. The tree on the obverse has four branches on each side of its trunk and it differs from the tree appearing on the coins of Variety B and Variety D by its being not put within any railing or circle. As Allan[20] informs us, there are some more symbols, which are, however, uncertain on its obverse. Variety A is represented by two coins in the the British Museum, cf. *CCBM,* Pl. XLIV, 6 and 7. Allan in the text of his *Catalogue* attributes them to the Rājanyas (p. 213), but in the *Introduction* of the same work (p. cxxiii) ascribes them to the Śibis. As he says[21] : "A definite attribution of these two coins is not given in the text of the *Catalogue* as I hesitated to read the first surviving character of the legend on both as *śi* (𑀰𑀺); it seemed to be *gi* (𑀕𑀺). Although I have not yet seen a specimen with the usual form of *ś* on it, I have now no doubt about the attribution of these coins to the tribe of the Śibis." An examination of the reproductions of the coins in question also leads us to the same conclusion. The tree symbol and the six-arched mountain symbol, which are commonly seen on the coins of the Śibis (six-arched mountain symbol is very common on the coins belonging to Class 2, see later) also enhance the probability of these two coins being issued by the Śibis.

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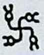
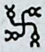
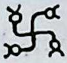
[20] *CCBM,* p. 213.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. cxxiii.

Variety B is constituted by one coin only which is now in the collection of the Indian Museum, cf. *CCIM*, p. 180, Pl. XXI, 12. This variety differs from Variety A in respect of the presence of a railing surrounding the tree which appears on it, as well as the reverse device which is in the present case a hybrid animal. The reverse of the coin belonging to Variety B further bears a legend doubtfully read as *rājño*. Some doubt was, however, entertained by Smith regarding the attribution of this coin. The obverse legend could not be definitely read by Smith but presuming that there might be some traces of affinity between the Rājanya coins and this one, he wanted to regard it as "allied to the Rājanya coins."[22] J. N. Banerjea after examining the coin has tried to read the obverse legend as *Śib*(*i*) *janapada*(*sa*) and after a verification of the coin his reading has been adopted by us. It is, however, very difficult to find out a satisfactory legend in view of the poor condition of the coin. The reading may be, as we feel, either Śibi or Śiba. It is, however, immaterial whether the reading is Śibi or Śiba, for both forms are known to have been used to designate the same people.[23] In other words, the reading proposed by Banerjea seems to be generally acceptable and hence the coin is to be attributed to the Śibis. And if so, the present coin is a remarkable specimen of the numismatic issues of the Śibis because of its reverse device which is represented by a hybrid animal, possibly a griffin.[24]

Variety C is made of one coin only which is now in the British Museum (*CCBM*, Pl, XIV, 12), while variety D is represented by some small coins procured by R. L. Samar (*JNSI*, IX, p. 83, Pl. 5, 6). The coin belonging to Variety C has on its obverse the usual tree symbol in addition to , while coins belonging to Variety D have on their obverse only the tree symbol. The difference between the tree symbol appearing on the obverse of the coins belonging to these two varieties lies in the fact that the tree in Variety C has no railing while that in Variety D rises from a circle. The most notable difference between the coins belonging to these two varieties lies in the fact that while the symbol  appears on the obverse in combination with the usual tree symbol in one case, it appears singly on the reverse in the other. As regards the coin belonging to Variety C, Allan attributes it to the Ārjunāyanas in the text of his *Catalogue* (p. 121, Pl. XIV, 12), but in the *Introduction* of the same work he ascribes it to the Śibis after comparing it "with a better specimen in Sir Richard Burn's collection" (p. cxxiii). Coins belonging to Variety D are regarded by Samar as unique because of the fact that the tree and the  symbol usually found in combination appear on them separated from one another.

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[22] *CCIM*, p. 180.

[23] The name Śiva for the tribe is available from many old literary texts, references to which have already been made. Śiva of Śibi, therefore, designates the same people.

[24] *JNSI*, XV, p. 46f.

The foregoing classification of Śibi coins excludes the two round bronze pieces[25] noticed by A. S. Altekar in *JNSI*, XIV, p. 5f. Before we offer our grounds for such exclusion, the description of these coins as made by Altekar may be given. Altekar on the basis of symbols and legends classifies them into two varieties. He describes the coins thus:

Variety A

Obverse :	Bull standing to left and apparently eating fodder from barrel-like object; above the bull a crescent. In the lower field legend in Brāhmī character of the fifth century A. D. *Jaṭhapura.*
Reverse :	Blank.

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[25] These coins were obtained by the late N. B. Advani from local Kaseras (copper pot-dealers) at Indore. Both of them are 1″ in diameter but the second, i.e. Variety B, is thinner than the other, i.e. Variety A. The blank reverse sides of both these coins may suggest them to be tokens or passports of the city of Jyeshṭhapura, or the impression in bronze of its city seal. But Altekar (*JNSI*, XIV, p. 6), pointing to the general resemblance between them and the Gupta copper coins, takes them "as specimens of the coinage of Jyeshṭhapura rather than of its city seal", the name of Jyeshṭhapura being thus added to the list of cities like Pushkalāvatī, Kapiśā, Madhyamikā, Ujjayinī, etc. which are known to have issued coins of their own.

Variety **B**

Obverse : Same as above, but a penon-like object is seen flying above the back of the bull. The legend is clearer than before and reads *Jeshṭhapura.*

Reverse : Blank.

The legends of the coins—*Jaṭhapura* and *Jeshṭhapura*—have been taken by Altekar corresponding to Sanskrit *Jyeshṭhapura* and Pāli *Jetuttara*, the latter being described as the capital of the Śibis in the *Vessantara Jātaka.* Thus identifying Jaṭhapura and Jeshṭhapura of the coins with Jetuttara Altekar assigns the coins to the Śibis. And because palaeographically the species belong to the fifth century A. D., Altekar makes a room for the Śibi tribe in that period, whose coinage, from the standpoint of fabric differs from the usual Śibi- janapada coinage of the third-second century B. C. In other words, Altekar wants us to believe that there was a Śibi settlement in the fifth century A. D., i.e. in the Gupta period.

Altekar's theory is, however, untenable. It is to be noted that the coins in question do not refer themselves to the Śibis nor there is any trace of the legend *janapada* found on the coins of the Śibis. The identification of Jaṭhapura and Jeshṭhapura with Jetuttara is also not beyond doubt. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Śibis were still flourishing as a recognisable tribe. Had it been so, the name of the Śibis would have been met with in the list of autonomous tribes of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta which includes tribes like the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, etc. It is, therefore, difficult to say anything about the issuers of these two interesting coins. And hence we cannot ascribe these coins to the Śibis on a slender ground as offered by Altekar.

INTERPRETATION OF THE COIN-LEGEND

The elaborate legend appearing on the Śibi coins *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa* has been restored from a study of different specimens.[26] This Prakrit legend may be Sanskritized thus : (*a*) *Madhyamikāyāḥ Śibijanapadasya*, (*b*) *Madhyamikāyāḥ Śibijanapadasya* and (*c*) *Madhyamikāyāṁ Śibijanapadasya.* The word *Majhamikāya* in Sanskrit thus may be interpreted in the Ablative, Genitive and Locative cases. In other words, *Majhamikāya* may be translated as 'from Madhyamikā', 'of Madhyamikā' and 'in Madhyamikā'. If Madhyamikā is taken in the Ablative, Genitive and Locative senses, it stands for the city. As we shall find later on, in the second century B. C. there was a city called Madhyamikā, and since the coin also belongs to the same period, there is every likelihood that *Madhyamikā* of the coin-legends stands for a city and not a tribe. We may take *Madhyamikā*, therefore, either in the Ablative, or in the Genitive, or in the Locative, and as such the legend admits of three interpretations: (*a*) '(coin issued) *from* Madhyamikā, belonging to the country of Śibi'; (*b*) '(coin) *of* Madhyamikā *of* the country of Śibi'; (*c*) '(coin) *of* the Śibi State (struck) *at* Madhyamikā'. Before we discuss these interpretations we may refer to the interpretation suggested by Cunningham.

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[26] See fn. 3. The full legend does not occur on any coin, cf. *CASR*, VI, p. 203. The die was probably bigger than the flan which may explain the omission of some letters. Also there may have been some carelessness in adjusting the die,

Cunningham[27] was inclined to interpret *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa* to mean '(coin) of the *Madhyamikāyas* of the country of Śibis', thereby assuming the coin to be an issue of a tribe called *Madhyamikāyas* who belonged to the country of Śibi; he thus takes the Genitive sense. Later on he[28] translated the legend as '(coin) of Madhyamikā country of Śibi', thereby assuming *Madhyamikā* as the name of a city which was under the occupation of the Śibis. The second interpretation of Cunningham is almost the same as the interpretation marked here as *b* which runs thus: '(coin) *of* Madhyamikā *of* the country of Śibi'. As to the first interpretation offered by Cunningham, it may be pointed out that though the name of a tribe called Mādhyamikas is found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the legend in question appears to lay an emphasis on the *janapada* of the Śibis. And the relation between this *janapada* and Madhyamikā tends to show that the latter is most probably the name of a place and not of a tribe. If we are to accept the Genitive sense, we may translate the legend as '(coin) *of* Madhyamikā, *of* the country of Śibi'. Cunningham's second interpretation is also in this line, except that he connects *janapada* with *Madhyamikā* and not *Śibi*. There is hardly, however, any notable difference in the sense between '(coin) of Madhyamikā of the country of Śibi', and '(coin) of Madhyamikā country of Śibi'. In both cases the Śibis become the lord of Madhyamikā. If we accept such an interpretation that the coins belong to Madhyamikā owned by the Śibis, we are to presume that there were more than one Śibi settlements and the coins concerned belong to one such particular settlement, viz. Madhyamikā and they do not represent the other areas where the Śibis may have flourished.

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[27] *CASR*, VI p. 203. [28] *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 146.

A variant of Cunningham's interpretation will be found in the one offered by Jayaswal[29] and Chakrabortty.[30] According to them, the legend means '(coin) of the Śibis of Madhyamikā'. If we accept this interpretation, we are to equate Madhyamikā with the Śibi country. But we have some hesitation in accepting such an interpretation. We propose to take Madhyamikā as comprised in the Śibi *janapada* and the *janapada* was, therefore, larger than the former. Further, the Genitive or the sixth case-ending is mainly used to denote 'possession' or 'relation', and hence in connection with personal names or men in order to emphasise 'possession' or 'authority'. No coin-legend using the sixth case-ending in connection with a *janapada* and a city there of at the same time is known. To our mind, Madhyamikā was probably a city with a mint from which the coins bearing its name were issued. Thus the legend *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa* is to be taken either in the Ablative or in the Locative; in both cases, however, Śibi country becomes wider in extent than 'Madhyamikā'. If it is taken in the Locative, it will indicate the location of the mint and in that case it is to be rendered into English as follows: '(coin struck or current) *at* Madhyamikā, of the country of Śibis'. But better than this is the interpretation following from the Ablative: '(coin issued) *from* Madhyamikā belonging to the country of the Śibis'. A parallel instance appear to be furnished by the coins of the Agras where the legend *Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa* seems to be in the Ablative case and is to be translated thus: '(coin) of the Agratyajanapada (issued) *from* Agrodaka'.[31]

Thus at least a section of the Śibis who were in the Punjab subsequently migrated to Rajasthan in or before the second century B. C., to which period the available coins are to be assigned. An indication of the area where they settled is given by the reference to Madhyamikā in the coin-legend, which is identified with Nagari near Chitor.

Chronology of the Coins

Carlleyle attributed the earlier issues of the Śibis to c. 150 B. C. The antiquity of the coins is evident from the palaeography. Some of the coins belong to a date even earlier than the second century B. C. as is presumed by R. L. Samar.[32] According to him, the earlier coins have the circular legend *Śibijanapadasa* (beginning at VII in his specimens). The later ones are those with the longer legend *Majhimakāya* (*sic*) *Śibijanapadasa* otherwise retaining most of the features of the earlier type. But Samar's supposition about their being two chronologically distinct varieties due mainly to difference in respect of the legend does not rest on sufficient ground. The legend not being found in its complete form on any coin, a definite conclusion pointing to two distinct chronological layers cannot be drawn from the same series. Further, there seems to be little difference in the scripts appearing on the two sets of coins, as distinguished by Samar.

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[29] *HP*, p. 147.

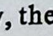
[30] *AIN*, p. 208. Also *NS*, XLVI, p. 86.

[31] See *supra*, p. 9.

[32] *JNSI*, IX, p. 83.

The view put forward above is not in conflict with the dating of the coins of a few other tribes such as the Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas. It may be noted here that the reverse of the coins of the Śibis resembles those of the Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas as are illustrated by the common motif such as the six-arched hill surmounted by a *nandiapada* and *svastika.*, though the *svastika* appears in the simplest form on the Kuṇinda coins. The Kuṇinda coins having these motifs are also usually assigned to the third-second century B.C. The mention of Madhyamikā by Patañjali[33] in the second century B.C. shows that the date assigned to the Śibi coins of Madhyamikā on political and other grounds is reasonably accurate.

INTERPRETATION OF DEVICES AND SYMBOLS

(*i*) *Mountain* : This six-arched symbol has been interpreted by Cunningham[34] as *chaitya.* Allan[35] and Banerjea[36] have correctly described it as a mountain. The symbol occurs on a coin of Viśākhadeva of Ayodhyā (cf. *CCBM.* p. 131), on some cast coins of Taxila (*ibid.*, pp. 218-19) and on some punch-marked silver coins (*ibid.*, pp. 64, 80, 82). Generally, the symbol is found associated with a Śaiva symbol like the *nandipada.* As for instance, on the Kauśāmbī coin (*CCBM*, p. 148) the symbol  occurs on its reverse with the *nandipada* symbol. In the present case the elaborate *nandipada*[37] on the top of the mountain symbol on the reverse may be seen in Prinsep's drawings[38] of the coins of the Śibis from Stacy's collection, but it is not visible in the British Museum specimens. The Śaiva element may be assumed to be present on coins where the related symbols are clearly visible. In this connection it may be mentioned that Śiva is believed to have an abode in the Himalaya mountain as legendary accounts relating to him do show.

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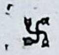
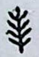
[33] III. 2. 111 : *aruṇad yavano Madhyamikām.* The *Kāśikā* reads *Madhyamikān*, thereby taking the word in the sense of a people.

[34] *CASR*, XIV, p. 146. [35] *Op. cit.*, p. cxxiv. [36] *JNSI*, XV, p. 47.

[37] The elaborate *nandipada* also occurs on the coins of Kumudasena, Saṅgha(mitra) and Vijayamitra of Ayodhya (*CCBM*, p. 137f) and the coinage of Vīrayaśa of Kulūta (*supra*, p. 78).

[38] *PE*, pp. 112-14, Pl. VII, 2-3.

(*ii*)  This symbol, a *svastika* with a taurine or Brāhmī *ma* at each end of the arm occurs not only on the coins of the Śibis, but also on some coins found at Ujjayinī (*CCBM*, pp. 255,256). What this symbol stands for cannot be ascertained at present. However, this symbol is seen localised on the coins discovered in Rajasthan. It may be described as an elaborate form of *svastika*, the antiquity of which may be traced back to the days of the Indus civilisation[39] and which is still considered auspicious by the Hindus. The present symbol with characteristic *ma* at the ends of its arms is interesting. Does *ma* stand for Madhyamikā, one of the cities of the Śibi *janapada*, wherefrom the coins were issued ?

(*iii*)  The tree symbol so common on ancient Indian coins, has also been used here as a device. Nothing in particular is to be said about the symbol at present except that on some specimens the tree has been depicted as rising from a circle.

(*iv*) *Animal* : What appears on the Indian Museum specimen has been described by Vincent Smith[40] as a lion. J. N. Banerjea[41] identifies it with a griffin (a bird-faced lion ?) as is to be found on the rail-carvings of Bharhut. Nothing definite can be said about the animal because the figure on the coin in question is not very clear. On the other hand, the lion is not absent on ancient Indian coins, as evidenced by some issues of Taxila (*CCBM*, pp. 223-25, 226) and Ujjayinī (*CCBM*, p. 260).

(*v*) *Undulating line* : A familiar motif in ancient Indian numismatics, it may represent here a river, specially because it is found associated with a hill. It may be interpreted as signifying the divine lake at the base of Mount Meru (here represented by the six-arched symbol) of Indian literature.

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[39] *IHQ*, VIII, p. 130. Essentially a solar symbol, the *svastika*, is found to have been used by peoples of ancient countries such as Crete, Troy and Susa. The *svastika* may be said to have entwined itself with the spiritual and artistic life of the people using it.

[40] *CCIM*, I, p. 180.

[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

METROLOGY OF THE ŚIBI COINS

Carlleyle and Stacy's coins were ten in number and all but one seem to be *ardhapaṇas* or half *paṇa* pieces ranging from 63 to 84 grains in weight, the tenth specimen being a half *kākini*, or $\frac{1}{8}$th *paṇa* weighing only 18 grains. The two British Museum pieces belonging to Class I weigh 82 and 75 grains and these weights thus fall within the above range. The British Museum coin belonging to Class II weighs 104 grains. One coin procured by Samar weighs 35 grains, thus conforming to the standard of $\frac{1}{4}$th *paṇa* piece (cf. *JNSI*, IX, p. 83, Pl. V), but other coins of Samar do not seem to have followed any particular standard, their weights being 86, 76, 68, 81 and 76 grains. Thus these coins of varying weights may not possibly be taken as representing standard sub-divisions of the Śibi currency.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ŚIBIS

The complete coin-legend of the Śibis discloses the name of a place called Majhamikā, i. e. Madhyamikā. The existence of Madhyamikā and the Mādhyamikas is also proved by a number of literary and epigraphic records. Thus while the *Mahābhāshya* (*loc. cit.*), *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*,[42] *Vivāgasuya*,[43] *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*,[44] the Barli[45] and Chitorgarh[46] inscriptions allude to Madhyamikā (Chitorgarh inscription : *Madhyamā*), the *Mahābhārata*[47] mention the people of the same place as Mādhyamikas or Mādhyamakeyas. The combined testimony of all these sources — numismatic, literary and epigraphic— has proved the location of Madhyamikā in Nagari and its neighbourhood. Ancient Indian authors thus knew of a tribe called the Mādhyamikas and one of its settlements, Madhyamikā , taken identical with Nagari near Chitor.

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[42] XIV. 2. *Maru-Vatsaghosha-Yāmuna-Sārasvata-Matsya-Mādhyamikāḥ.* That Madhyamikā continued to flourish till after the middle of the sixth century A. D. is corroborated by the fragmentary Chitorgarh inscription (see below, fn. 46).

[43] II. 5. : *majjhamiyā.*

[44] V. 321 : *madhye bhavā Madhyamikā nāma nagarī.*

[45] *SI* (second edition), pp. 89-90. This fragmentary Prakrit record of about the close of the second century B. C. contains the earliest epigraphic reference to Madhyamikā ; it mentions a person as *Majhimika* (Sanskrit *Mādhyamika*, i.e. *Madhyamikāvāsī*), 'an inhabitant of Madhyamikā'.

[46] *EI*, XXXIV, p. 53f. It is one of the two fragmentary Sanskrit records engraved on a stone slab. Belonging to the first half of the sixth century A. D., the inscription (marked as no. *b*) in its third stanza refers to a Rājasthānīya (i.e. 'governor') ruling over Madhyamā (same as Madhyamikā) by the order of the person mentioned in the previous, i.e. in the second stanza ; the person, whose name is untraceable, is evidently the king of the country.

[47] II. 29.6-7. (BORI edition) *Śibīṁs-Trigarttān-Ambashṭhān-Malavān pañcha-Karpaṭān || Tathā-Madhyamikāyāṁś-cha Vāṭadhānān-dvijān-atha/*

The question that now arises is whether the Mādhyamikas and the Śibis are to be taken as two different tribes? The evidence of the Great Epic at least shows that they were different from each other. Besides the evidence quoted above, it is interesting to note that the *Mahābhārata* in another place (II. 50. 14) refers to the Śibis without the Mādhyamikas. Similarly, the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* refers to the Śibis singly more than once. The separate mention of the Śibis and the Mādhyamikas in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* though in the same group, would, therefore, tend to show that they were neighbours or allies, but not identical.

The testimony of both indigenous and foreign literary texts as well as of the Shorkot inscription (see the section 'the Antiquity of the Tribe') seems to locate the early homeland of the Śibis in the region between the Indus and the Chenab, perhaps in Shorkot in the Jhang district in the Punjab. And it is here in the land of the five rivers that the Śibis had found neighbours and allies in the Mādhyamikas, Mālavas, Trigarttas, Ambashṭhas and others, as may be seen from the grouping of the Śibis with them in the Epic. Like the Śibis and the Mālavas the Mādhyamikas were also a Punjab tribe. The name *Majhamikā* found on coins is taken by Cunningham[48] to denote the Mādhyamika people and may be connected with its modern survival *Mānjhā*, the name of a district which 'extends from the Chenab on the west to the Sutlej on the east and for a considerable distance to the south of Lahore'. The region occupied by the Śibis, according to the Classical writers, extended from the Jhelum to the Chenab, and thus they were neighbours of the Majhamika-Mānjhās as located by Cunningham. Whatever may be supposed about Cunningham's conjecture regarding the present survival of the name of the Mādhyamikas, it is reasonably certain that the Mādhyamikas migrated to Rajasthan from the Punjab. The Śibis are found through their coins to have been connected with the Mādhyamikas (cf. the name of the city of Madhyamikā evidently being derived after them), but no definite conclusion can be arrived at as to whether the two tribes came together. Probably the Madhyamikā settlement existed before the arrival of the Śibis. No connection between the Śibis and Madhyamikā is indicated in the *Mahābhāshya*. It may be inferred that the Śibis occupied the region after the Greek siege to which the *Mahābhāshya* refers. The dwindling importance of the Mādhyamikas as compared with the Śibis may be presumed from the fact that they are less frequently mentioned than the Śibis in the texts already noted above. Incidentally, Jayaswal's[49] theory that Madhyamikā did not pass under the Śibis but was the seat of a separate political community is not quite convincing, as the date of the Epic passages (II. 29. 6-7) on which he relies is not definitely known and also as it does not assign the Mādhyamikas to the Rajasthan region. Although the Mādhyamikas may have been originally a separate, though allied, tribe, numismatic evidence shows that Madhyamikā was only a mint city of the Śibi-*janapada*. In the time of Patañjali Madhyamikā was a city, its original tribal association being obviously preserved in the name.

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[48] *CASR*, VI, p. 203.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that the Śibis *en masse* migrated to Rajasthan. The Shorkot inscription of the fifth century A. D. which most probably contains a distant memory of the tribe may lend some support to the view that some of the Śibis still inhabited the Punjab region. It may be assumed that the Śibis had centres other than Madhyamikā from which it has been distinguished in the coin-legends.

As to why the Śibis migrated from the Punjab to Rajasthan is difficult to ascertain. Jayaswal surmises that the love of liberty was the cause of their migration. The Yaudheyas, Madras, Śibis and others, being pressed by Alexander and his soldiers, left their home. For, to use the words of Jayaswal,[50] "they would sacrifice paternal homes and lands to preserve their political self and soul. They would go to deserts but live in democratic glory and rule in parliament. It is a settled principle of Hindu politics that freedom is more important than home and is to be preserved at the cost of the latter". We may not agree with Jayaswal in attributing modern nationalistic ideas of freedom to these ancient tribes, but from the practical point of view it may be said that they had to move in large numbers due to political pressure or economic causes, the real nature of which is not known. Further, there are instances which show that movements of a tribe from one particular place to another were not uncommon in early times. The case of the Ābhīras settling in different parts of India may be cited as an illustration on the point. It need not be surmised that all ancient Indian tribes lacked mobility and did not respond to needs for expansion beyond limits of their original habitat. The tribal character of their socio-political organisation may have been suited to a drive for movements in search of new homes.

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[49] *HP*, p. 149. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

With regard to the migration of the tribe, W. W. Tarn[51] holds that the leader of the Yavanas, i.e. the Greeks, who besieged Madhyamikā, as known from the *Mahābhāshya*, was the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus ; and he further suggests that this distinguished king befriending himself to the Śibis helped them to settle at Madhyamikā, modern Nagari, near Chitor. Incidentally, he also points out that the Śibis were not a primitive race, in support of which view he refers to the praise about the capital of the Śibis made by Diodorus (XVII. 96.2).[51a] The other suggestion of Tarn[52] is that the Greeks appeared in India not as 'conquerors' but as friends and 'saviours' and in the regions occupied by them they largely "retained whatever national organisation existed, merely seeing that power was in the hands of their friends and probably leaving a handful of Greeks to help in administration". As an illustration of this view Tarn cites the case of the Śibis of Madhyamikā and concludes that the instance "may show that points which had to be held for military reasons were settled with native troops from a distance, whose isolation might guarantee their loyalty". Thus, according to him, a section of the Śibis came to Rajasthan with their Greek friends and with their help settled there. Tarn's theory, needless to say, has a speculative value, for no evidence is forthcoming to show that the movement of the Śibis was due to a special favour extended to them by the Greeks.

We have already tried to show that the Śibis had at least two settlements, one in the Punjab which is earlier, and the other in Rajasthan and the existence of these two settlements is attested by literary and numismatic evidences respectively. To these well-known settlements, we may perhaps add four more : the first in Baluchistan, the second in Sind, the third in the south, and the last one somewhere between Videha and Pañchāla. The sameness of the name of the tribe and that of the place inhabited by it, as illustrated by the first site, is quite interesting : standing midway between the famous Bolan Pass and the Harnai Pass, Śibi (also known as Sewistan) is the head-quarters of the district of the same name and is on the route from Sukkur to Quetta,[53] the distance between the two being 88 miles. MirMasum, writing in A. D. 1600, mentions about the ruins of several ancient cities in its vicinity. All local traditions assuring its being a Hindu kingdom at one time also point to its probable connection with the ancient Śibis. Sehwan, the second place is in central Sind ; if its name is taken as a composite word consisting of *Sew-Siw* or *Sib-Sibi-han-than-sthan-Siwi-*

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[51] *GBI*, pp. 150-51. [51a] *Ibid.*, p. 170. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[53] See 'Sibi district', *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*, Vol. III (Bombay, 1907), compiled by A. McConaghey, pp. 36, 245-46.

sthan or *Sibisthan* or *Siwistan* of the mediaeval historical texts like the *Tarikh-i-Ma'sūmī*, it may be said to be connected with our people, the original word being *Śibisthān*, 'a place of Śibi'.[54] The existence of the third settlement seems to be confirmed by the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the *Daśakumāracharita.* While the former text[55] refers to a Śivikā (a pleonastic form of Śibi) country in the list of southern countries, the latter[56] mentions a Śibi settlement on the banks of the Kaveri, both the settlements in all likelihood being identical. The southern Śibis have been identified by H. C. Raychaudhuri[57] with the Chola ruling family but we believe that their name is preserved in a village called Śibi situated at a distance of 15 miles north of Tumkur on the Tumkur-Chitaldrug road in Mysore.[58] The last settlement, as noted above, may be looked for in the region between the kingdoms of Videha and Pañchāla, if any reliance is to be placed upon the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka.*[59] The tradition being legendary and hence uncorroborated nothing definite can be said on the Jātaka site in question.

Of the six localities, directly or indirectly associated with the Śibis, as seen above, the existence of the last one is doubtful, though not improbable, while the fifth site points to a possible migration of one of the branches of the tribe towards the South. The remaining places distinct from one another, in the Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind and Rajasthan—forming a quadrilateral, as it were, seem to show that the Śibis under some socio-political pressure spread in different directions and settled in as many as three regions, apart from their homeland in the Punjab. If the Śibis, believed to have descended from the Śivas and Śibi-Auśīnara of the *Ṛik* and later Vedic texts and hence an Aryan-speaking people, it may be inferred that they 'played a dominant role soon after the destruction of the Indus Valley civilisation'. Pointing to the potentiality of the sites concerned, A. H. Dani[60] therefore concludes: "It is essential for the archaeology to open up the great mounds of old forts and the neighbouring ruins, now standing aloft at Shorkot, Śibi and Sehwan....If perchance we hit upon the earliest remains of the Śibis, it would be possible to fill a wide gap that now separates the period of the Indus civilisation from that of the historical remains. Who knows we may be on the verge of discovering the fugitive Aryans who have so far baffled all attempts of the spade to trace them."

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[54] *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (second edition, London, 1876), edited by A. W. Hughes. It was captured by Muhammad-bin-Qasim as known from the *Tarikh-i-Ma'sūmī*, edited by N. B. Baloch, Karachi, 1946; see under the headings of *Sehwan* and *Siwistan* in the Index.

[55] XIV. 12.

[56] Chapter VI.

[57] *PHAI*, p. 253, fn. 12.

[58] *Mysore Gazetteer*, V, p. 534.

[59] No. 546.

[60] *JASP*, IX, p. 17.

To turn to the Śibis of Rajasthan. The *Śivi-*[61] and *Ummadantī-*[62] *Jātakas* refer to a Śibi king and his country with Ariṭṭhapura as a capital, while the *Vessantara Jātaka*[63] mentions Jetuttara as the capital of the Śivi country. Ariṭṭhapura has not yet been identified, but definitely the name may stand for Sanskrit Arishṭapura (cf. Pāṇini's IV. 2. 122) and the Aristobothra of Ptolemy on the north of the Punjab.[64] As regards the identification of Jetuttara, one should turn to the *Vessantara Jātaka* where the name occurs. This is an old and important *Jātaka* in which it is stated that once upon a time, a king named Śivi was reigning in the city of Jetuttara in the kingdom of Śivi. Jetuttara, according to this *Jātaka,* was at a distance of 5 leagues from a mountain named Suvaṇṇagiritāla, the mountain again at a distance of 5 leagues from a river named Kontimārā, the river in turn being at a distance of 5 leagues from a mountain named Arañjaragiri and this mountain was again at a distance of 5 leagues from a Brahmin village named Duṇṇivitthā.[65] Cunningham[66] considered Jetuttara as identical with Chitor, the name of the latter being a corrupt form of Jayatur or Jetur of Muslim writers, *cha* being easily mistaken for *ja* in Muslim calligraphy. In connection with the identification proposed by Cunningham, it may be pointed out that there is a village named Śivapura about 12 miles north-east of Nagari, the findspot of our coins.

RELIGION OF THE ŚIBIS

The Śibis[67] of the coins who had their predecessors in the Śivas of the *Ṛigveda,* Śibis of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and Siboi of the Classical authors, appear to have been devotees of Śiva. The six-arched object surmounted by an indistinct symbol on coins of Class 1, supposed to stand for a mountain with a *nandipada* on it may indicate their adherence to the Śaiva faith.

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[61] No. 499. [62] No. 527. [63] No. 547.

[64] See *GDAMI*, p. 11. [65] Cowell's edition, p. 246f.

[66] *CASR*, XIV, p. 146. Pointing out that "nearly all the old Muhammedan authors" wrote Jaytur (variants Jitur, Jetur or Jayatura) for the present Chitor (see *CASR*, VI, pp. 205-6), Cunningham observes: "The name of the capital Jayatura seems to point to Chitor, a suggestion which is strengthened by the fact that all the coins of Śibi hitherto found have been obtained at Chitor. The identification also agrees very well with the neighbourhood of Chetiya, which is almost certainly Chetiyagiri or Besnagar of the Ceylonese chronicles."

[67] The Śibis of the coins may be said to have belonged to the Atri *gotra,* if they are identified with a people called Śaivas mentioned in the *Sūtra* and other literary texts. For the Śaivas, see *EBSGP*, p. 139.

Political Organisation of the Śibis

Turning to the political organisation of the Śibis we find that at an early stage as reflected in the *Vessantara Jātaka* the *janapada* was ruled by a king. But the king was not an autocrat as the *Jātaka* shows. The Śibi king as we find in this story had to banish his dear son Vessantara in obedience to the demand of his subjects, though he was sure that he was not guilty.[68] The system of government seems to have ultimately changed to a *gaṇa* type as is indicated by the absence of any reference to a king on the coins of the Śibis which mention in their legends *Śibijanapada* only. Incidentally, that the word *janapada* meant *saṅgha*, apart from monarchy, will be clear from Kātyāyana,[69] according to whom the ruling Kshatriyas inhabiting the *janapadas* were either monarchies or *saṅghas* (*Kshatriyād-ekarājāt saṅghapratishedhārtham*).

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[68] Corroboration to the democratic character of the government of the Śibis may also be obtained from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* wherein it is stated that in the realm of the king of the Śivis (i.e. Śibis) real power was vested in the hands of his subjects, see *Ocean of Story* (translated by C. H. Tawney), II, p. 498;

[69] IV. 1. 168.1.

CHAPTER 10

THE TRIGARTAS

A SQUARE copper coin, preserved in the British Museum bears the inscription *Trakatajanapadasa* in Brāhmī characters on its reverse.[1] *Trakatajanapadasa* is evidently the Prakrit rendering of the Sanskrit *Trigartajanapadasya*, which means that the coin is to be attributed to the territory of the Trigartas.

Antiquity and Habitat of the Tribe

The earliest reference to the Trigartas is found in a *sūtra*[2] of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (*Trigarta-shashṭha*). In the *Gaṇapāṭha*[3] mention is made of the names of nine tribes along with the Yaudheyas including that of the Trigartas. In that text these tribes are described as *āyudhajīvī-saṅghas*, i.e. *saṅghas* that lived by the profession of fighting. The Trigartas are referred to by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya.*[4] In the *Mahābhārata*[5] the Trigartas are mentioned along with the Yaudheyas, besides the Śibis, Rājanyas and others. The Purāṇas[6] also abound in references to this tribe. In the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[7] *Trigarta* along with its derivatives *Traigarta* and *Traigartaka* occurs as the name of the territory of the Trigartas. The forms *Trigarta* and *Traigartaka* are also met with in the *Chāndravyākaraṇa.*[8] In connection with the Pāṇinian *sūtra* concerning the Trigartas, the *Kāśikā*[9] enumerates the six members of the tribe. References are also found in later works such as the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,*[10] *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*[11] and *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi.*[12]

The literary reference to the Trigartas as well as the unique coin belonging to the collection of the British Museum bear ample testimony to their antiquity. As Pāṇini is the earliest authority to allude to the Trigartas, their antiquity goes back at least to the fifth century

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[1] *CCBM*, pp. cxxxix-cxl, 212, pl. XXIX, 10. Its findspot is unknown.

[2] V. 3. 116.

[3] V. 3. 117.

[4] IV. 1. 178.

[5] II 29.6 ; II. 48. 13 (BORI edition).

[6] Cf. *Vāyu* (XLV. 136), *Brahmāṇḍa* (I. 16. 68), *Matsya* (CXIV. 56), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (LVII. 57), *Vāmana* (XIII. 58), *Garuḍa* (LV. 19), etc.

[7] XIV. 25 ; also IX. 19. For *Traigarta*, X. 11 ; XVI. 22 ; XVII. 16 ; and for *Traigartaka*, IV. 24.

[8] IV. 3. 92 ; III. 2. 39.

[9] V. 3. 116.

[10] IV. 2. 87.

[11] V. 144

[12] P. 382.

B. C. His *sūtra Trigarta-shashṭha* is explained by the *Kāśikā*[13] as a confederacy consisting of six (*shashṭha*) members, viz. (1) Kauṇḍoparatha, (2) Dāṇḍaki, (3) Kraushṭaki, (4) Jālamāni, (5) Brāhmagupta, and (6) Jānaki. Of these Brāhmagupta has been sought to be identified by V. S. Agrawala[14] with Bhramor. As regards Jānaki, Agrawala[15] finds this people mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[16] as helpmates of King Suśarmā of Trigarta. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* locates Trigarta in the northern division, while the above-noted Puranic texts mention the Trigartas as inhabitants of the Himalayan region (*parvatāśrayiṇaḥ*). The *Vaijayantī*[17] locates Trigarta not specifically in the Himalayan region but in *Uttarāpatha*. Thus it seems to be certain that the Trigartas were northerners and probably a mountainous tribe. Their association with the Himalayas seems to be confirmed by the combined testimony of the *Gaṇapāṭha* and the Puranic texts, for while the former text includes the Trigartas in the *āyudhajīvi-saṅgha*, the latter describes some *saṅghas* as *parvatāśrayiṇaḥ*. Though the *Gaṇapāṭha* and the Puranic literature are separated from each other by a considerable period, the Purāṇas may have recorded an old tradition about the locale of the tribes figuring in earlier texts. Thus it may be presumed that the Trigartas lived somewhere in Northern India, probably in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas.

The word *Trigarta* means 'three pits'. Hence it is not unlikely, as is generally believed, that Trigarta denotes a region comprising three valleys, viz. those of the rivers Ravi, Bias and Sutlej. The name may be interpreted in the light of the evidence supplied by the *Vaijayantī* and the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* : Trigarta corresponds to Jālandhara (*Jālandharastrigartāḥ syuḥ*). It may be concluded, therefore, that Jalandhara and its adjoining region formed the habitat of the tribe. According to Cunningham,[18] the country of the Trigartas is to be located between Kangra and Jalandhar, to the south of Chamba. Like the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas, to mention some of the more prominent tribes, the Trigartas were also a people of the Punjab.

The solitary coin of the tribe, which is now in the cabinet of the British Museum, bas been described by Allan[19] as follows :

Obverse : Four-tiered *stūpa* ; traces of Kharoshṭhī legend on right.

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[13] V. 3. 116.

[14] *IPA*, p. 447.

[15] *Ibid.*

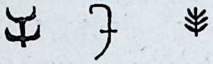
[16] I. 61. 17 ; V. 4. 17.

[17] *Bhūmikāṇḍa*, verse 26.

[18] *CAGI*, p. 136. For further references to their country, see *ESAI*, p. 97f.

[19] *Loc. cit.*

Reverse : Legend in Brāhmī : *Trakataja* above.

 in centre ; *napadasa* below.

(*CN 98*)

This square copper coin weighs 43·0 grains. What has been described as the tiered symbol by Allan is, more accurately, a four-storied pavilion with a circular finial. Foreign influence is discernible, to an extent, in the pellet borders of the coin.

CHAPTER 11

THE UDDEHIKAS

SOME copper coins bearing the inscription *Udehaki* in Brāhmī characters of the third-second centuries B. C. have come to light.[1] Among them some have been found at Rairh, a small village in Tehsil Bonli in Jaipur.[2]

ANTIQUITY AND HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

Besides the coins which disclose the existence of a tribe called the Uddehikas, Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[3] refers to the Uddehikas and locates them in the Middle Country (*Madhyadeśa*). This may show that the Uddehikas flourished in the sixth century A. D. when Varāhamihira wrote his work. Since Al-Berunī[4] who flourished in the eleventh century A. D. gives names of countries most of which did not exist in his time the reference to Uddehikas in his work may apply to an ancient people who had no place in contemporary history. But numismatic and epigraphical evidences tend to show that the Uddehikas were an important tribe as early as the third century B. C. to which their coins may be attributed on palaeographic grounds (see later).

Al-Beruni, deriving his information about the Uddehikas from the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the *Purāṇas* and other old literary records, adds a gloss 'near Bazana' after 'Uddehika'[5] evidently to give an idea about their location.

Regarding the site of Bazana, Al-Beruni[6] furnishes some useful information. In the first place, he mentions it as 'the capital of Guzarat' and says that 25 *farsakh* to its south was the country of

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[1] *CCBM*, pp. cxli, 240, Pl. XXXV, 16, 17 ; *ER*, p. 66, No. 19, Pl. XXVI, 9 ; *JNSI*, p. 47, Pl. IVA, 1. It is to be noted here that the Rairh coins are surface finds, *ER*, p. 49.

[2] *ER*, p. 66.

[3] XIV. 3, cf. *Gauragrīv'oddehika-Pāṇḍu-Guḍ-Aśvattha-Pañchālāh.* Gauragrīvas and Aśvatthas are difficult to be located, but the Guḍas and the Pāṇḍus (Pandae of Ptolemy) may be located in Thāneśvar and its adjoining regions respectively. The Pañchālas lived in Rohilkhand region. The Uddehikas lived not far from these tribes.

[4] *Tahkik-i-Hind* (Sachau's translation, *Al-Berunī's India*, pt. 1, p. 300).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*; pp. 202, 300.

Maiwar with its capital Jattaraur.[7] Further, in his time it was known to the Muslims as *Narayan.*[8]

S. K. Dikshit[9] considers *Bazana* to be a corrupt form of the *Bhādanaka* which appears in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (*GOS*, I, p. 51) as a place where an Apabhraṁśa dialect was current. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja of the eleventh century (a work on poetics, not to be confused with the grammar of the same name by the same writer) states that this dialect used to please the Gurjaras (*Apabhraṁśena tushyanti svena nānyena Gurjarāḥ*, II. 13). These two statements taken together would, according to Dikshit, corroborate Al-Beruni's information that Bazana was 'the capital of Guzarat'. Dikshit[10] further identifies *Bhādana* (or *Bhādanaka*, as the reading may be) mentioned in a Sanchi inscription[11] with *Bazana* of Al-Beruni.

Whether the name *Bazana* is derived from *Bhādana* or *Bhādanaka* it is difficult to say. The name *Gujarat* or 'the country of the Gurjaras' (*Guzarat* or *Gujarat* is connected with *Gujjaratta*)[12] is referred to in the Ghatiyala inscriptions[13] of V. S. 918 which is supposed to have covered parts of West Rajasthan and North Gujarat. Bazana may, therefore, be located in West Rajasthan- North Gujarat area.

Attention may also be drawn to a place called Naraina in the former Jaipur State probably identical with the old Bazana;[14] This proposal has some points in its favour. Lying 125 miles north of Chitor, Naraina is a place of antiquity as its ancient mounds show.. The distance of 125 miles between Naraina and Chitor also fairly agrees with the distance of 25 *farsakh*, i.e. 100 miles between Bazana and Jattaraụr (=Chitor) as recorded by Al-Beruni, allowing some margin of error on the part of the Muslim writer. It is interesting to note that Abu Rihan[15] locates a place called Narana (*Narayan* of Al-Beruni), obviously Naraina, 25 *parsangs*, i.e. about 87 miles (1 *parsang*=3½ miles) to the north of Chitor. Geographically, too, Naraina is included in what was in ancient days considered to be a part of Gurjaratra or Gurjaradom and it will not be out of place to mention here that as late as the nineteenth century the Gurjaras inhabited the region "north of the Aravalis and along the borders towards the Punjab and the Jumna from Bikanir round to Bharatpur and Jaipur".[16] In other words, Jaipur seems to have formed a part of old Gujarat and the 'capital of Guzarat' is likely to have been situated there.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 202, cf. his statement about Bazana : "This town is called *Narayan* by our people."

[8] *IC*, VII, p. 362f. [9] *Ibid.* [10] *Ibid.* [11] *EI*, II, p. 110.

[12] *Struggle for Empire*, edited by R.C. Majumdar, pp. 389, 396 fn. 5.

[13] *EI*, IX, p. 277f. [14] See *IC*, VII, p. 362.

[15] Eliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, p. 58. Also *CAGI*, p. 390.

Regarding the location of Bazana, there are two more views. Cunningham,[17] perhaps relying upon Al-Beruni's information that 'the capital of Guzarat' or Bazana was known as Narayan in those days, identifies it with Narayanpur in the old Alwar State "a town situated at 10 miles north-east of Bairat", the latter place being situated at 70 miles north-east of Naraina. The common element *Narayan* of *Narayan* (of Al-Beruni) and *Narayanpur* (the actual place-name) is, however, interesting. But the distance between Narayanpur on the one hand and Mewar and Chitor on the other which is of 205 miles (125 + 70 + 10; from Chitor Naraina is 125 miles, from Naraina Bairat is 70 miles and from Bairat Narayanpur is 10 miles) far exceeds the estimate based on Al-Beruni's measurement. The identification of Bazana with Bayana, as suggested by D. C. Sircar,[18] is also unlikely in view of the fact that Bayana in the old Bharatpur State likewise lies at a considerable distance from Chitor. Rapson[19] suggests on the basis of "the general similarity between the coins of Uddehika and Eran...that these two places were not far apart".

If Bazana is taken to be identical with Naraina, the settlement of the Uddehikas is to be looked for near it, since Al-Beruni states that the Uddehikas lived near Bazana. Pointing to a place called Bari-Udai in the Gangapur tahsil in the old Jaipur State which is about 92 miles east-south-east of Naraina, S. K. Dikshit[20] is inclined to take this village as the old capital of the Uddehikas. The similarity between the second element in the name *Udai* and *Uddehika* (*Udehika*) is striking. Besides, Bari-Udai is about 40 miles north-east of Rairh which has yielded some specimens of Uddehika coins.

In view of the evidence discussed above, it may be concluded that the ancient Uddehika country comprised Rairh together with Bari-Udai and its adjoining regions.

COINS OF THE UDDEHIKAS

Besides the coins bearing the name of the tribe, some have been found at Rairh with the legend *Sudavapa*, whose meaning is not clear.

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[16] *Rajputana Gazetteer*, I, p. 70. According to this *Gazetteer*, the Gurjaras are the descendants of the people of Gujarata and one of the cultivating tribes.

[17] *CAGI*, p. 390.

[18] *AIU*, p. 159, fn. 3. Bayana is about 25 miles s-s.w. of Bharatpur city.

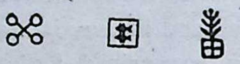
[19] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 98.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 363.

K. N. Dikshit[21] without adducing any evidence took it to be either a title or a family name. V. S. Agrawala[22] connects *Sudavapa* with *Udvapa*, a word found in the list as given in the *Kāśikā* relating to Pāṇini's *sūtra* (IV. 2. 75—*Saṁkalādibhyaścha*), and taking *Udvapa* as a place-name identifies *Sudavapa* with *Udvapa*. We venture to suggest that Sudavapa is the name of an important city of the Uddehikas just as Madhyamikā was that of the Śibis. As to the occurrence of place-name on ancient Indian coins, mention may be made of coins bearing Brāhmī and Prakrit legends like *Kosabi* and *Ujaniyi*, among others. Needless to say, these are the monetary issues of Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī (see *CCBM*, pp. xcviii-xcix ; *CAI*, p. 98, Pl. X, fig. 20 and *CCBM*, p. 262, Pl. XXXVII, 15).

The coins bearing the legend *Sudavapa* (may be conveniently called 'Sudavapa' coins) seem to be connected with the Uddehika pieces through the use of the common name of a king called Sūryamitra as well as sameness of devices employed like the elephant, bull, fishes, the so-called Ujjain symbol and the triangle-headed standard. The absence of the name of the tribe on these coins may be explained on the analogy of the Audumbara *mitra* coins (see p. 49f). The striking resemblance between the Uddehika and Sudavapa coins from the standpoint of fabric and the fact of the discovery of both the series at the same place appear to lend further support to the view that both were issued by the same authority. Sūryamitra who issued the Sudavapa coins may be identified with his namesake appearing on the coins of the Uddehikas when the common origin of this coin appears to be a reasonable proposition from other weighty considerations also. The Sudavapa coins have, therefore, been included in the list below.

Class 1

Obverse :  Legend in Brāhmī : *Udehaki*.[23]

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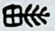
[21] *JNSI*, III, p. 48. Equally unconvincing is the view which takes *Sudavapa* as a tribal designation (see *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, edited by D. C. Sircar, p. 62, Calcutta, 1970).

[22] *Ibid.*, IV, p. 48. According to Agrawala, "*Sudavapa* seems to have been formed by adding *su* prefix to *Udavapa*". The formation of the name *Sudavapa* in this way is, however, not certain.

On the analogy of *Vachhaghosha* being a place-name occurring on some *Senāpati* coins found at Rairh (*ER*, pp. 50-51, 66), I have taken *Sudavapa* as a place-name. For my paper on the *Vachhaghosha* on the said coins, see *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. I, pp. 50-52 and for a rejoinder to D. C. Sircar's criticism on my view, see *JNSI*, XXIX, pt. II, p. 80.

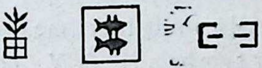
[23] *Udehaki*, according to Rapson, is a *tadrāja* formation denoting the 'prince of the Uddehikas', though according to the Pāṇinian rule one expects the form *Audehaki* (*Odehaki*), *op. cit.*, p. 99.

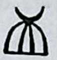
Reverse :  over bull right. *(CN 99)*

N.B. The class is represented by one square copper coin belonging to the cabinet of the British Museum. No information about its provenance is on record. In Rapson's description of the coin (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 98) the obverse has been shown as the reverse and the reverse as the obverse.

Class 2

Obverse : Above, two-line Brāhmī legend : *Udehaki* and *Suyami*(*tasa*).

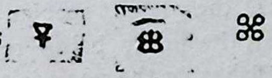
Below 

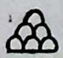
Reverse : Elephant to left, bull, countermarked (according to Allan, the countermark is ). *(CN 100)*

N.B. It is to be noted here that the provenance of the British Museum specimen of this class is also unknown. Rapson notices on the reverse of this coin beneath the elephant "five-hooded snake and (?) tree within railing, both represented horizontally", *JRAS*, 1900, p. 98. The coin is corroded and only the elephant device is clear.

Class 3

Variety A

Obverse : Three symbols  ; below, bull to left. Legend in Brāhmī : *Sudavapa* (at right angles to) *Suyamitasa*.

Reverse : A meandering river with three fishes ; above, sun or a star and a six-arched hill  ; below, a trident or a three-forked *triśūla*-like symbol. *(CN 101)*

Variety B

Obverse : Symbols indistinct. Traces of the legends : ......(*va*) *pa* and *Suya*......;

Reverse : A meandering river with three fishes as above; (probably countermarked with) the so-called Ujjain symbol (with the balls containing some small symbols) and a six-armed solar symbol (with three alternating taurines and three arrows), both of which are in deep incuse.

Variety C

Obverse : 卐 ⌘ to top left; below, elephant to right.

Brāhmī legend :
Sudavapa (at right angles to) *Dhruvamitasa.*

Reverse : Symbols indistinct (meandering river with fish and other symbols ?) *(CN 102)*

N.B. Coins belonging to all these varieties have been found at Rairh. Some of them are worn out (e.g. Variety B). The differences between these varieties lie in the presence or absence of devices and symbols on them.

DEVICES AND SYMBOLS ON UDDEHIKA COINS

While among animals bull and elephant only figure on the Uddehika coins, the symbols used are of various kinds. The symbols include fish, "five-forked" symbol, the so-called Nāga, *jayadhvaja* and Mālava or Ujjain symbols, *svastika*, sun or star, six-arched symbol, and tree-within-railing. The symbols, which have not been met with in other tribal coinages, are described below :

(*i*) *Fish* : On the present species fish is shown either in a pond or within a river, the latter being represented by meandering lines. The number of fishes in the pond is two, while it is three in the river. Thus it may appear that the Uddehikas held fish as an auspicious animal. It may be recalled here that the fish-in-pond symbol, probably of local origin, is commonly seen on the coins found in Ujjain. A variety of it occurs on some coins discovered at Eran and Mathura (*CCBM*, pp. 142, 170, 182). The important role played by fish in Hindu Mythology is too well-known to be discussed here and even now it is regarded as an auspicious object. And like the Hindus the Jains and Buddhists also venerate fish. For instance, it is one of the eight auspicious (*ashṭamaṅgala*) objects of the Śvetāmbara Jains. In this connection it may be mentioned that sanctity is attached to fish in other parts of the world as well. As Frazer[24] records, the ancient Syrians esteemed fish as sacred and hence refrained from eating it.

(*ii*) : Generally described as a 'five-forked' symbol, it seems to be a combination of two *triśūlas*. It also occurs on some coins of Rajuvula, the Śaka satrap of Mathura (*CCBM*, pp. 187-89), Phalgunimitra and Bhadraghosha of Pañchāla (*ibid.*, pp. 194-95, 197). A variety of the symbol is found on the Yaudheya coins of Class 1.

(*iii*) : It is difficult to say whether it stands for sun or a star. The star-like object represented on the coins of Phalgunimitra of Pañchāla, likely to be the representation of the constellation Phalguni (*CCBM*, pp. 194-95), may be recalled in this connection.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

The two British Museum specimens published by Allan weigh 80.00 and 53.50 grains. The coin weighing 53.50 grains belongs to Sūryamitra. The coins of Sūryamitra numbering 5, discovered at Rairh, have the following weights : 44.13, 45.06, 43.20, 36.41 and 35.49 grains. It is interesting to note that the British Museum specimen of Sūryamitra of the Kanauj series weighs 52 grains thus conforming to that of the same Museum specimen of Uddehika-Sūryamitra of 53.5 grains. This weight of 52 grains of Kanauj-Sūryamitra is also close to the weights of the coins of Sūryamitra found at Rairh. Some of these weights may be connected with the Indian *paṇa* standard of 144 or 146 grains. Thus the coins of the Uddehikas weighing 35 grains or thereabouts may represent ¼th *paṇa.* It is however quite likely that there were some intermediate sub-divisions adjusted to the *paṇa* standard.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINS

The legends of the coins of the Uddehikas are written in Brāhmī which on palaeographical grounds may be placed in the third-second centuries B. C. like some early coins found at Eran and Ujjain in Madhyapradesh of the same period using similar characters in their legends. From the point of view of monetary technique too the Uddehika coins bear affinities to Eran and Ujjain coins. For, while the previous practice had been to punch several symbols on the coin blanks separately, the coins of the Uddehikas as well as those of Eran and Ujjain show that the symbols were now collected together in a big 'punch' (may be called a 'die' at a stretch) and were *struck at a time* on them. Thus the Uddehika coins mark an important stage in the art of coin making of India and show a distinct advance on the monetary technique of the Punch-marked coins of ancient India.

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[24] *Golden Bough*, p. 621.

Among the Uddehika coins, mention may be made of those which give the name of a chief *Suyamita* (i.e. Sūryamitra). These bear resemblance to some coins recovered at Eran with the name of their issuer Dhamapala (i.e. Dharmapāla). What is important to note here is that in both cases the names of the issuers are not endowed with any title or epithet, and Allan[25] considers its absence as suggestive of an early date.

As mentioned before, there is a typological interconnection between the Uddehika coins on the one hand and the species found at Kanauj, Kausambi, Ayodhya, Taxila and Ujjayini on the other. One of the common symbols, the triangle-headed standard is also met with on various cast coins and on the coins of Vīrayaśas, a king of the Kulūtas. This symbolical interconnection renders some help in fixing the approximate date of the Uddehika species. A class of coins discovered at Kanauj bear on their obverse the name of one Sūryamitra as well as two symbols, viz. the tree-in-railing and the Ujjain symbol, which are also found on Uddehika coins. Allan[26] assigns the Kanauj coins to the first century B. C. Similarly, the Kausambi coins showing the common symbols, the triangle-headed standard and the Ujjain symbol, also have a date in the second-first centuries B. C. Then again the Eran coins, spoken of above, which are distinctly connected with the Uddehika coins, are generally assigned to the third-second centuries B. C. Thus barring the coins of the Kulūta Vīrayaśas which display the triangle-headed standard and which are assignable to the first century A. D. on palaeographical and other grounds, all these coins (e. g. those of Taxila and Ujjayini) bearing affinities to the Uddehika species from the standpoints of type, symbol and fabric, fall in the last few centuries of the pre-Christian age. In short, the resemblances and affinities between the Uddehika coins and other ancient coins referred to above necessitate the ascription of the former groups to the period between the third century B. C. and the first century B. C.

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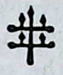
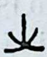
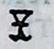
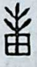
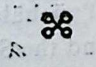
[25] *Op. cit.*, p. cxli.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. xciii.

The Uddehika coins belonging to Classes 1 and 2 seem to be earlier than the coins of Class 3, i.e. the Sudavapa coins, also grouped as Uddehika coins ; finer fabric and neatly incised lettering of the latter require them to be placed after the time of the coins of Classes 1 and 2. These may provisionally be assigned to the first century B. C.

PROBLEM RELATING TO THE IDENTITY OF THE UDDEHIKA- AND THE SUDAVAPA- SŪRYAMITRA WITH OTHER SŪRYAMITRAS OF ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

Coins recovered at Kanauj, Mathura, Panchala and Rairh have disclosed the existence of one or several persons named Sūryamitra.[27] The name appears on some coins belonging to the Mathurā series ; round in shape and made of copper they bear on the obverse the figure of Lakshmī standing facing, holding lotus in uplifted right hand between 'two-horizontal and one-vertical bars'  on left and Ujjain symbol on right, and their weight varies between 106 and 130 grains. The round copper coins of Pañchāla Sūryamitra bear symbols such as  on their obverse and sun over  between pillars on railing, and they weigh between 91 and 243 grains. A round copper coin found at Kanauj containing the name of Sūryamitra bears the triangle-headed symbol ( ), tree within railing  and the Ujjain symbol  and its weight is 52.00 grains. The square copper coin coming from Rairh, weighing 44.13 grains, bears the name of Sūryamitra along with that of the tribe ; it shows a tree within railing, three fishes in a tank and the Ujjain symbol on the obverse and the elephant to left, humped bull to right and the triangle-headed symbol (probably a countermark) on the reverse. The British Museum specimen of Sūryamitra of the Uddehikas, square in shape and weighing 53.5 grains, bears two symbols on the obverse, a tree within railing and two fishes in a pond (the Rairh piece has three fishes) and there appears to be a third symbol which is indistinct but which on the analogy of that of the

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[27] For references to these various coins bearing the name *Sūryamitra*, see before.

Rairh piece seems to be the usual Ujjain symbol ; the reverse of it bears the elephant and probably bull (indistinct) and the usual counter-mark (according to Allan). Anyway, there is no doubt about the fact that in spite of these minor differences in symbols, the British Museum specimen belongs to that Class which includes the Rairh piece.

Rairh has yielded four interesting coins with the name of Sūryamitra on them along with a legend *Sudavapa* most probably signifying a locality. These four coins belong to a separate class (here Class 3) and represent humped bull : solar symbol type ; they are seen to have shared some common symbols with the Uddehika-Sūryamitra coins (cf. triangle-headed standard, Ujjain symbol, etc.) and also their weights in a striking manner. On these and other grounds, already discussed, Sudavapa-Sūryamitra coins have been grouped in these pages with those of Uddehika-Sūryamitra. Now, to add to our confusion, Rairh has yielded seven more square copper coins bearing the same legend *Sudavapa* and some common symbols like the Ujjain symbol, pond with fishes, triangle-headed standard, etc. but revealing the name of a different ruler, Dhruvamitra. As regards their metrology, they weigh between 20.18 and 28.38 grains. The affinity between the Sudavapa- Sūryamitra and Sudavapa-Dhruvamitra coins, as shown by the use of common symbols, is so strong that they can be easily regarded as forming a connected group.

There are two questions to be answered in this connection: (*i*) Are the Sūryamitra of these different coins identical ? (*ii*) Is there any connection between Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra ?

Let us take up the first question. The possibility of Sūryamitra of the Mathurā and Pañchāla series being identical with Sūryamitra of the Uddehika and the Sudavapa coins may be ruled out on the following grounds: Firstly, the symbols occurring on the Mathurā and the Pañchāla species are different from those on the coins of Sūryamitra belonging to the Uddehika and Sudavapa coinages. Secondly, the weights of the coins of Sūryamitra of the Mathurā and the Pañchāla series are different from those of the coins of Sūryamitra of the Uddehika and Sudavapa series. Lastly, some difference in palaeography is also noticeable specially in respect of the letters *sa*, *ma* and *ta*. And Rapson[28] was doubtful about the identity of the Uddehika-Sūryamitra with the Pañchāla-Sūryamitra placing the latter in the second century B.C. Thus we may conclude that Mathurā- and Pañchāla- Sūryamitras were different from the Uddehika- and

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[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

Sudavapa- Sūryamitra. These differences of a somewhat vital importance stand in the way of the classification of various groups of coins, as discussed above, as issues of identical Sūryamitra in all cases.

But the affinities between the coins of Sūryamitra of the Kanauj series and those of Sūryamitra of the Uddehikas are unmistakable. These reveal common symbols like the tree-within-railing, the triangle-headed standard and the Ujjain symbol. Besides, the weights of their coins are also similar in some respects (52.00 and 53.5 grains). While the grounds for regarding the two Sūryamitras as one and the same person are reasonable, one does not, however, fail to notice the difference in shape of their coins ; the issues of the Kanauj-Sūryamitra are round and those of Uddehika- and Sudavapa- Sūryamitra are square. This difference may not be regarded so serious as to neutralise the cumulative evidence which points to a fair degree of agreement between the two groups.[29]

As to the second question, it may be noted that the name of Dhruvamitra occurs not only on the Sudavapa coins found at Rairh but also on some coins coming from Pañchāla (*CCBM*, p. 199, Pl. XXVII, 5, 6, 7). The Panchala coins of Dhruvamitra, round in shape, bear on their obverse three symbols and railing with three pillars and some unidentifiable objects on their reverse ; they weigh between 20.5 and 59 grains. The Sudavapa-Dhruvamitra coins (see *ER*, pp. 67-68) bear river with fish, Ujjain symbol, caduceus, an animal (horse or lion ?), elephant, *svastika*, etc. on the obverse and square tank with fishes (?), a square tank with a *liṅgam*, mountain symbol, river with fish, triangle-headed standard, etc. on their reverse ; all of them are square in shape and weigh between 20.18 and 32.03 grains. Metrologically there may be some affinities between the Pañchāla- and Sudavapa- Dhruvamitra coins, but they appear to have no symbolical interconnection. Differences in the palaeography of their legends also tend to show these two Dhruvamitras to be different personalities.

As to the connection between the Sudavapa- Dhruvamitra and Sudavapa- Sūryamitra coins, it may be noted that both hailing from the same place are square in shape and furnish the same legend *Sudavapa* in exactly similar characters and these facts are definitely suggestive of their numismatic kinship. While the Ujjain symbol is a common obverse device, the elephant occurring on the reverse of the former appears on the obverse of the Sudavapa- Sūryamitra coins. The Sudavapa- Dhruvamitra coins appear to be half denominations of the Uddehika- Sūryamitra species, approximately conforming to the indigenous *paṇa* standard. The Sudavapa- Dhruvamitra coins, as is expected, have greater affinities with the Sudavapa- Sūryamitra pieces. Not only the Ujjain symbol is common to the obverse sides of both the classes, but also the river-and-fish symbol which occurs on the reverse of the latter appears on the obverse of the former. Similarly, the triangle-headed standard which appears on the obverse of the latter occurs on the reverse of the former, while the six-arched mountain appears on the reverse of both the series.

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[29] Bela Lahiri holds that the Kanauj- and the Uddehika- Sūryamitras were different personalities, *JNSI*, XX, pp. 124-25. It may be agreed with her that Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra of Kanauj coins are not identical with their namesakes in the Mathura series, but the identity between the Kanauj- and Uddehika- Sūryamitras appears to be almost certain.

Thus it may be concluded that the coins with the legend *Sudavapa* were issued by two chiefs or rulers, Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra, though it is difficult to precisely ascertain their order of succession. We have already tried to prove the identity of the Sūryamitra of the Kanauj series with the Sūryamitra of the Uddehika and Sudavapa coins. This Sūryamitra was related to Sudavapa- Dhruvamitra who was different from the Pañchāla- Dhruvamitra, the latter's coins forming a class apart. In other words, coins of the Uddehikas with and without Sūryamitra's name and species of Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra with the legend *Sudavapa* are to be classed together.

CHAPTER 12

THE VEMAKAS

ONE COIN definitely belongs to the Vemakas. It is a round silver coin and is now a possession of the Lahore Museum (Pakistan).[1] Bergny[2] was the first to read the name *Vemaka* in the coin-legend which has been generally accepted. There is another coin which is of copper and square in shape (not traceable at present). Originally noticed by Rodgers and wrongly attributed by him to Hermaeus, it may also be assigned to the same people.[3] Its type and fabric are common to those of the Lahore Museum specimen which bears the legend *Vemakisa* (or *Vamakisa*). The legend on the former, as read by Allan, is *Vamaka- . . papasa.*

The first coin, i.e. the silver coin "was found in a field near Jwalamukhi in company with three silver pieces of the Kuṇindas and 28 Philopator hemidrachms of Apollodotus."[4] The provenance of the second coin is not very certain, but as Allan[5] informs us, it "came from the Punjab probably from the Hoshiarpur district". Thus the two coins come almost from the same locality where the habitat of the people may be looked for.

If the copper coin can be definitely attributed to the Vemakas, it will be seen that the people like some of their neighbours issued both silver and copper coins. Copper was commonly issued by most of the tribes and it would be rather unusual if coinage of the Vemakas was confined to silver alone. The two coins may be taken as representing two different classes, based on differences in shape, legend and metal.

Class 1

(Silver, round)

Obverse : Bull right, lotus in front.
Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayata. (*CN 103*)

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[1] *CCPM*, p. 167, Pl. XVI, No. 137. Also *CCBM*, p. 125, Pl. XIV, 13.

[2] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 419. His reading was accepted by Rapson who observed that *Vemaki* stands for *Vaimaki*, *ibid.*, p. 429.

[3] *CCBM*, p. 280, Pl. XLV, 14. It may be noted here that the correct form of the tribal name is *Vemaka* and not *Vamaka*, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 6.

[4] *CAI*, p. 67.

[5] *CCBM*, p. cliv and fn. 2.

Reverse : Elephant right with upraised trunk, trident with axe on left. Legend in Brāhmī :
Rājño Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaka (?).

N.B. Cunningham read *Rajna* instead of *Raña* on the obverse. Whitehead accepts his reading, *CCPM*, p. 167. The reading *vijayata* on the obverse suggested by Cunningham, Rapson and others is accepted by Allan in the text of his *Catalogue* (p. 125), but in the *Introduction* of the same work, he proposes to read *vijayaya* instead of *vijayata* and says that *vijayaya* is a Prakrit equivalent of *vijayaka* (occurring in the Brāhmī legend), which is an adjective meaning 'victorious', *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi. Incidentally, *vijayaka* or *vijayaya* reminds us of *jayadhara*, Prakrit rendering of the Greek title *Nikephoras* or *Nikator*. As regards the nomenclature, Allan correctly reads *Vemakisa* in the *Introduction* of the *Catalogue*, p. lxxxv.

Class 2

(Copper, square)

Obverse : Elephant right, *nandipada* behind. Legend in Brāhmī :
Vemakajanapadasa.

Reverse : Bull left, and *nandipada* and *svastika* above. (*CN 104*)

N.B. Allan tries to read *Rāja* before *V-mak-napapasa*, but is not very sure as to his reading, for he says that what he reads as *Rāja* "may, however, be a *nandipada*," *op. cit.*, p. cliv.. On the analogy of Rājanya, Śibi and Trigarta coin- legends, it appears that the legend on the present coin is most probably *Vemakajanapadasa.* The coin does not bear any Kharoshṭhī legend and hence the side with the Brāhmī legend has been taken as obverse.

RUDRAVARMĀ, THE RULER OF THE VEMAKA TRIBE

Cunningham[6] and Whitehead[7] attribute the coin of Rudravarmā to the Audumbaras. Allan[8] also subscribes to their view. In the words of Allan[9] : "His (Rudrāvarmā's) types are those of Mahādeva, except that the elephant is to the right. The elephant and trident with axe on handle again suggest the attribution to the Audumbara dynasty." In other words, Allan attributes the coin to the Audumbaras mainly on the ground of typological resemblance. As regards the second coin, Allan is not quite certain about its attribution and he includes it in the list of 'uncertain coins'. But he seems to be in favour of ascribing it to the Audumbaras since it bears the figures of a bull and an elephant which are found also on the coin of Rudravarmā and on the silver coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. Besides, according to him,[10] the legend *V-mak* (-) (-) *napapasa*: *Vemaka-* "would suggest a further link with Rudravarman and the Audumbaras".

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[6] *CAI*, pp. 66, 68, Pl. IV, 6.

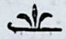
[7] *CCPM*, p. 167.

[8] *CCBM*, p. lxxxv.

[9] *Ibid.*

Apparently on the ground of the typological similarity between the coin of Rudravarmā and the coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbaras, Rudravarmā may be said to have belonged to the Audumbara tribe. But a very important point needs to be considered here. The coin in question expressly states that Rudravarmā was a Vemaki, i.e. 'a Vemaka man' (*Vemakisa Rudravarmasa*). And if *Odu(ṁ)bari* appearing on the coins of the Audumbaras means 'a ruler of the Audumbara tribe', Vemaki should likewise mean 'ruler of the Vemaka tribe', in which case Rudravarmā would appear to have been a ruler of the Vemaka tribe and not of the Audumbara (Odumbara). R. C. Kar[11] has, therefore, rightly attributed the silver coin of Rudravarmā described above to a tribe called the Vemakas.

The possibility of Rudravarmā's affiliation to a tribe other than the Audumbaras also has been pointed out by Allan and Rapson. Allan[12] takes Vemaki as representing "an otherwise unknown family of the Audumbaras", while Rapson[13] observes that "a people of this name seems not to be known from any other source". A glance at old literary texts will, however, show that the word *Vemaka* is not a rare one (see below).

Recently an attempt has been made to attribute the two silver coins and two copper coins bearing the legend *Bhagavata* (in Sanskrit *bhagavataḥ*, 'of the noble-souled') and *Mahādeva* to the Vemakas ('Vaimakis' as spelt by the writer concerned).[14] We have, however, included them among the monetary issues of the Auḍumbaras (*supra*, p. 46f, 52f). The view ascribing the said coins to the Vemakas rests on purely typological affinities as seen in the common motifs like bull, elephant, lotus, trident, etc. The view eventually falls to the ground as it fails to account for the absence of epithets *rājarāja* and *bhagavata* as well as the symbol  on the coins of the Vemaka chief Rudravarmā.

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[10] *Ibid*., p. cliv.

[11] *IHQ*, XX, pp. 59-62. R. D. Banerji first expressed doubts as to the attribution of coins of Rudravarmā, Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra, Vīrayaśas and Vṛishṇi to the Audumbaras. Aṣ regards the coins of Mahīmitra and Bhānumitra, they have been attributed by us to the Audumbaras on grounds stated before, pp. 52-53. For R. D. Banerji's view, see *NS*, XXIII, p. 248.

[12] *JRAS*, 1900, p. lxxxvi.

[13] *Op. cit*., p. 429.

[14] *JNSI*, XXX, p. 64f.

The Name and Antiquity of the Tribe

The word *Vemaka* in Sanskrit, which etymologically means 'weaver', (see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1013) appears as the name of a sage in the *Harivaṁśa*[15] and *Brahmapurāṇa*[16] ; the wife of the sage brought up the Kaurava king, Ajapārśva, the great grandson of Janamejaya Parīkshit. On the combined evidence of the coins and the *Brahmapurāṇa*, we may suggest, therefore, that Vemaka was the 'national sage' or 'patron saint' of the tribe of the same name, as Viśvāmitra was that of the Audumbaras. In this connection one may refer to the *Mahābhārata*[17] wherein a people called the Vaiyāmakas (in some editions the name is spelt as *Vairāmaka*) is mentioned along with the Audumbaras and the Darvas, Kāśmīras, Trigarttas and other tribes. Another name *Vairāmaka* occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.[18] Attention may also be drawn to the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Utpala on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[19] which refers to a tribe named Vaimaka in the north-eastern division of India, along with the Kāśmīras, Daradas and Darvabhimuras (apparently a mistake for Darvābhisāra). It is difficult to say whether all these three forms—*Vaiyāmaka*, *Vairāmaka* and *Vaimaka*—are to be regarded as approximations to the numismatic form *Vemaka*, but sufficient weight is to be attached to the fact that the Vaiyāmakas of the *Mahābhārata* are associated with tribes like the Audumbaras, Daradas, etc. inhabiting the regions where the Vemakas also appear to have lived with them as neighbours. The findspot of the silver coin of Rudravarmā also tends to support the conclusion that the Vemakas, to whom Rudravarmā belonged, were neighbours

[15] III: 1: 14-15.

[16] XIII. 136-37. A comparison of the verses embodying same story in the *Harivaṁśa* and *Brahmapurāṇa* shows that *Remaka* in some manuscripts of the latter text is apparently a scribal mistake for *Vemaka*.

[17] II. 50. 12. *Vaiyāmaka* is derived from *Vyāmaka*. If *Vyāmaka* is taken identical with *Vemaka*, the latter giving rise to *Vaimaka* or *Vaimaki*, it is to be assume that the person called Vemaka was also known as Vyāmaka ; otherwise Vemak and Vyāmaka are to be taken as two different personalities.

[18] *JA*, 1915, pp. 43, 94. Also *JUPHS*, XV, pt. 2, pp. 28, 42.

[19] Utpala quotes from Parāśara, an earlier writer, *BS* (Dvivedi's edn., p. 293f).

of the Audumbaras and other tribes of north-western India. The close resemblance between the coin-types of the Vemakas and those of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series, as already noticed, should "suggest proximity of mints and of districts of circulation, for Rapson has already pointed out, Indian coin-types are predominantl local in character". Thus there is little room for doubt that th Vemakas and the Audumbaras were neighbours, but not identical.

CHAPTER 13

THE VṚISHṆIS

CUNNINGHAM[1] discovered a silver coin, now in the British Museum, bearing the name of a tribe called Vṛishṇi. He has not recorded its findspot but has included it among the coins of the Audumbaras. Probably like the Audumbara coins it also came from 'the Northern Panjab, beyond Lahore'.

ANTIQUITY AND HABITAT OF THE TRIBE

Copious references to the Vṛishṇis are met with in ancient Indian literature,[2] the earliest being that found in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. In this work[3] the Vṛishṇis have been mentioned along with another people called the Andhakas. The *Arthaśāstra*[4] of Kauṭilya referring to the Vṛishṇis as a *saṅgha* states that they had come to grief on account of their inability to check human passions. The *Mahābhārata*[5] also mentions the confederate Vṛishṇis, Andhakas and other tribes as a *saṅgha* which was headed by Vāsudeva. The association of the Vṛishṇis with the Andhakas is also known from various literary texts. The Purāṇas like the *Bhāgavata*,[6] *Vāyu*,[7] *Brahmāṇḍa*,[8] *Matsya*[9] and *Brahma*[10] contain numerous references to the Vṛishṇis. These notices clearly show that they were a well-known people in early times. They may be believed to have flourished at least as early as the fifth century B. C., the period to which Pāṇini's work is generally ascribed.

The *Brahmapurāṇa* describes Mathurā as the home of the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas. After the invasion of Mathurā by the demons, as goes the *Harivaṁśa*[11] story, the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas left the place and established their capital at Dvārāvatī or Dvārakā. Mathurā is known from various sources to have been connected in early times with the cult of Kṛishṇa, the celebrated hero of the Vṛishṇis, which may be attributed to the association of this region with the tribe, as the legends show. Moti Chandra[12] connects the Kukuras, traditionally a member of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi confederation, with Khokharain in Dasuya Tahsil in Hoshiarpur District of the Punjab which he regards as the home of the ancient Kukuras. From this he concludes that the Vṛishṇis should evidently be located somewhere in the same district of the Punjab or nearabouts. He[13] further suggests that a class of Vaiśyas known as Barah-senis living chiefly in the district of Uttarapradesh, who claim Agroha in the Hissar district of the Punjab as their original home, are accustomed to write Vārshṇeya after their names and thus they may be believed to be the descendants of the ancient Vṛishṇis. In this connection mention may be made of the Vārshṇeyas, who according to the old *Sūtra* texts, belong to Vaśishṭha *gotra.*[14] If the suggestion of Moti Chandra, as noted above, is accepted, the eastern portion of the Punjab between the upper courses of the Ravi and the Bias may be regarded as a settlement of the Vṛishṇis. But there is no literary evidence or evidence of any other kind in support of his view about the alleged connection of the Kukuras or any section of the Vṛishṇis with the Punjab. A single coin of the tribe of unknown provenance is also of no help in the matter of the location of their settlement.

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[1] *CAI*, p. 70. The coin has been discussed and reproduced by Allan in h *Catalogue*, pp. clvi-clvii, 281.

[2] Some of the important references only have been quoted in this chapter.

[3] IV. 1. 114 ; VI. 2. 34.

[4] I. 6. 3.

[5] XII. 81. 25.

[6] I. 3.23 ; I. 8. 41 ; II. 420. 1 ; IX. 23. 30 ; X. 90. 46, etc.

[7] I. 145 ; XCVI. 84, etc.

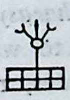
[8] III. 61. 23 ; III. 71. 85.

[9] XXXIII. 69. 10 ; XLIV. 15 ; XLVII. 12.

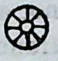
[10] XIV. 54 ; XVI. 24 ; 49, etc.

[11] I. 37 (Vangavasi edition).

The unique coin of the Vṛishṇis is round in shape. It now belongs to the collection of the British Museum. The coin may be described thus :

Obverse :  with animal half lion—half elephant in front.

Legend in Brāhmī :
Vṛishṇ(i) r(ā) jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya.

Reverse :  Elaborate *dharmachakra.* Legend in Kharoshṭhī :
Vṛishṇirajaṇṇa(ga) - tra - - -. (*CN 105*)

N.B. Allan in the text of his *Catalogue* (p. 281) accepts Cunningham's reading *Vṛishṇ(i) r(a) jajnāgaṇasya bhubharasya,* but in the *Introduction* gives the above reading as suggested by A. Bergny (see below). The reverse symbol described by him as *dharmachakra* may be justly interpreted as *Sudarśanachakra* of Kṛishṇa, the Vṛishṇi hero (see below). *Rajāṇṇa* as read by Bergny and Allan on the reverse should obviously be *rajaṇṇa.*

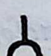
[12] *GESM*, p. 64. [13] *Ibid.* [14] *EBSGP*, pp. 175, 181, 186.

INTERPRETATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE COINS

Wheel: The elaborate wheel with twelve spokes appearing on the reverse of the coin has been described by Cunningham[15] and Allan[16] as a *dharmachakra*. But in view of the coin being an issue of the Vṛishṇis, a clan traditionally connected with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, it may be held that it is a representation of the *Sudarśanachakra* of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, one of the most revered symbols among the early Pāñcharātrins and the Vaishṇavas.[17] The symbol seems to be originally a solar one, representing the Vedic Vishṇu, an aspect of the Sun, and if so, its twelve spokes may stand for twelve Ādityas mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

Nandipada pillar with a composite animal: A pillar surrounded by railing has on its top a *nandipada* and in the centre a composite animal comprising of the forepart of a lion and an elephant. According to Cunningham[18] the crowning object is a *triratna*, but Allan[19] takes it to be a *nandipada*. There is no reason why the railing should be regarded as a Buddhist one as surmised by Cunningham. About the *nandipada* Allan[20] says that "it is not possible to be absolutely certain that the *nandipada* is not on the top of the standard".

INTERPRETATION OF THE LEGEND

The legend which is both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī was read by Cunningham[21] as *Vṛishṇi Raja jnāgaṇasya bhubharasya*. This reading was not accepted by A. Bergny[22] according to whom the legend, with slight dialectical variations on two sides, reads: *Vṛishṇ*(-) *r*(*ā*) *jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya* (Brāhmī) and *Vṛishṇirajāṇṇa*(*ga*) - *tra* - - - (Khoroshṭhī). Allan in the text of the *Catalogue* accepts Cunningham's reading, but in the *Introduction* gives Bergny's reading. He[23] observes: ". . . the legend is better explained not as Sanskrit but as Prakrit which has been given a Sanskrit appearance—gen. in – *sya* instead of *sa*; in inscription of this time when we have a rounded *g* , the *bh* is square, so that  must be *t*, and Bergny's *tratarasya* = *tratarasa* in the Kharoṣṭhī—is the correct reading." His reading slightly differs from Bergny's reading inasmuch as he reads *rājajño* while Bergny reads *rājajñā*.[24] Allan[25] conjecturally takes *rājajño* as equivalent to *rājanya*, *rājajño* possibly being an engraver's mistake for a genitive on the analogy of *rājño*, Prakrit *raṇṇo* (cf. Kharoshṭhī legend). Allan[26] is thus inclined to interpret the legend as meaning 'of the protector of the tribe Vṛṣṇirājanya,' i.e. 'of the protector of the Rājanya (or warrior) tribe of Vṛṣṇis'.[27] He[28] surmises that the engraver was more familiar with Kharoshṭhī and the Prakrit dialect and did his best to put the inscription in the Sanskrit form on the obverse.

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[15] *Loc. cit.*

[16] *Op. cit.*, pp. clv, 281.

[17] *DHI*, p. 131.

[18] *Loc. cit.*

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. clv.

[20] *Ibid:*

[21] *Loc. cit.*

[22] *JRAS*, 1900, pp: 416-21:

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. clvi.

Bergny[29] attempting to explain the meaning of *rājajñā* of the coin-legend, as restored by him, has offered a few suggestions which may be summed up here in his own words. His first suggestion is that *rājajñā* has been made up of *rāja+ājñā* (order) and that *rāja+ājñā* would be represented by a Prakrit *rājañña* (possibly *rājaṇṇā* or *rājāṇā*) corresponding to the Brāhmī *rājajñā*, with *jña* for *ña* as usual in these Sanskritic inscriptions and Kharoshṭhī *rājaṇṇā* with the lingual instead of the palatal nasal. The whole expression should in that case be taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, which in pure Sanskrit form would be *Vṛishṇi-rāj-ājñā-gaṇasya*, i.e. 'of a family whose name (?) is Vṛishṇirāja' or 'whose royal name (?) is Vṛishṇi'.

His second alternative suggestion is that as a Prakrit *ñña* or *ṇṇa* may also be derived from a Sanskrit *nya*— the word *rājañña*, written here as *rājajñā* and *rājaṇṇā* (*rajaṇṇa*) should be corresponding to Sanskrit *rājanya*, 'belonging to the Kshatriya caste' and that the whole be translated as '(the coin) of him whose family are Vṛishṇi Kshatriyas (*Vṛishṇi-rājanya Kshatriyas*).'

Thirdly, he proceeds to show that *Vṛishṇi-rājaññā* may be taken as an instrumental used as a genitive, in which case it is to be supposed that the termination *ña* of forms like *rāña* has been irregularly added to the reconstructed stem *rājan*.

One of the conclusions reached by Bergny is that *rājajñā* may be equivalent to *rājanya*. As we have shown above, Allan[30] is also of the same view, although he has not attempted to explain it in a definite manner. Bergny takes *rājanya* in the sense of a Kshatriya by caste.

Jayaswal[31] reads the legend as *Vṛishṇi-rājaññya-gaṇasya trātasya* and explains it as meaning 'of the Vṛishṇi Rājanya (and) Gaṇa—the protector of the country', showing as he suggests that the coins on which it occurs were struck in the name of the *rājanya* and *gaṇa* of the

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[24] *Ibid.* [25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. clvi-clvii.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. clvii. [28] *Ibid.* [29] *Loc. cit.*

[30] *Loc. cit.* [31] *HP*, p. 35f, 151.

Vṛishṇis jointly. In support of his view he[82] refers to Pāṇini who states that there were two *rājanyas* amongst the *Andhaka-Vṛishṇis* (*rājanyabahuvachana-dvandvendhakavṛishṇishu*, VI. 2. 34) and also to the *Kāśikā* which while commenting upon the Paninian *sūtra* in question states that the *sūtra* does not apply to the members of the Andhakas and Vṛishṇis as such but to their *rājanyas* only. These *rājanyas*, according to Jayaswal, were 'leaders of families consecrated to the rulership'. In this connection instances supposed to be of 'dual' groups of rulers have been quoted by him from literary allusions: the Rājanyas of the groups of Śini and Vāsudeva, Śvaphalka and Chaitraka, the party (*varga*) of Akrura and the party of Vāsudeva, and Vāsudeva and Ugrasena Babhrū.[83]

Jayaswal's interpretation is a somewhat laboured one. It is difficult to understand how a coinage could have been issued in the separate names of the *rājanyas* and the *gaṇa* as if the *rājanyas* were outside the *gaṇa*. From the coin-legend also the number of *rājanyas* cannot be ascertained. There may, however, be some reason in the points raised by Jayaswal. If *rājanya* means a ruler, it may be supposed that the coin-legend refers to a type of *gaṇa* government in which power lay in the hands of the *rājanyas* and thus the coin-legend probably means a special type of *gaṇa* meaning *rājanya-gaṇa*. In that case it must have been issued entirely in the name of the *gaṇa* whose type is specified in the legend and not jointly in the names of two *rājanyas* and the *gaṇa* as has been assumed by Jayaswal.

P. L. Gupta[84] is of the opinion that the Vṛishṇis may have formed a confederation with this Rājanya tribe. The present coin with the legend *Vṛishṇi-Rājanya* is to be taken as a joint issue of the two tribes, both being named as *gaṇa*. Gupta further suggests that the word *tratarasa* in the legend meaning 'of the saviour' or 'of the protector' may signify that the Vṛishṇis and the Rājanyas claim to have protected or saved their land from the hands of foreign invaders. Nothing is, however, known from any other source about their alleged success in repelling foreign attacks, and the extent of the territory supposed to have been saved from alien domination, though the use of Kharoshṭhī is not without significance. It is difficult to believe with the help of a single coin that the combination of the two tribes, if it was a reality, was of the nature of a permanent union, but an improvisation due to the special circumstance.

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[82] *Ibid.*, p. 35f.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

[84] *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 203.

Let us now offer our interpretation of the legend which was almost correctly read by Bergny. A comparative study of the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī recensions of the legend shows that *jña* of the Brāhmī *rājajña* is equivalent to *ṇṇa* of the Kharoshṭhī *rajaṇṇa.* In other words, *rājajña* corresponds to *rajaṇṇa.* While *rajaṇṇa* clearly suggests that the corresponding form in Sanskrit is *rājanya,* the word *rājajña* appears somewhat unfamiliar. Now, the word *rājanya* when transformed into Paiśāchī Prakrit would show *ñña* in the third syllable and this conjunct consonant *ñña* is in majority of cases a correspondent of the Sanskrit conjunct consonant *jña.* Thus *ṇṇa* which comes from *nya* has been transformed into *jña* in the obverse legend. This shows that the Sanskrit form *rājajña* proceeds from a confusion which assumes that the Sanskrit form *jña* is the only correspondent of Prakrit *ṇṇa.* This is obviously not the case. That *nya* may develop into *ñña* is substantiated by the Prakrit grammatical rule as laid down in the work of Hemachandra (IV. 305). The remaining word *tratarasya* corresponds to Sanskrit *trātuḥ* ; here *tratara* is the stem-form which has been supplied by the nominative plural and to this *tratara* the genitive singular suffix *sya* has been added.[35] The whole legend *Vṛishṇi-rāja-jñāgaṇasya tratarasya* is thus a product of the false Sanskritization, the intended Sanskrit legend being *Vṛishṇi-rājanya-gaṇasya trātuḥ*, meaning '(coin) of the saviour of the host of the Vṛishṇi kings'.

Who was this saviour of the Vṛishṇi kings ? To my mind the issuer or issuers of this particular coin was or were inclined to commemorate the lord Kṛishṇa, the deified hero of the Vṛishṇi clan, following their triumph over some enemies. The practice of dedicating a state to the presiding deity and issuing coins in his name was not an unknown phenomenon, the well-known cases from early Indian history being supplied by the Kuṇindas (*supra*) and the Yaudheyas (*infra*). One may, however, point out the absence of the name of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa in the coin-legends under reference and the presence of the names of Chhatreśvara (Śiva) and Brahmaṇya-Kumāra in the legends on the issues of the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas respectively. It may be argued further that while the Vṛishṇi specie does not bear any figure of Kṛishṇa, the Kuṇinda and the Yaudheya coinages carry the anthropomorphic representations of the presiding deities of the respective tribes on them. The absence of the name or figure of

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[35] Analogous cases are the *rāyāṇa* and *appāṇa. Rāyāṇa* is the stem-form which comes from the nominative plural form *rājānaḥ* of the stem *rājan* ; also *appāṇa* in the like manner is the stem-form which is obtained from the nominative plural form *ātmānaḥ* of the stem *ātman.* See *JOI*, XVII, March, 1968, p. 24.

Kṛishṇa on the coin concerned does not, however, pose a serious problem in accepting our suggestion inasmuch as Kṛishṇa, the presiding deity of the Vṛishṇis, has been depicted symbolically through his characteristic emblem Sudarśanachakra. Besides, the god was too well-known to require any mention by name or by any anthropomorphic representation on the coinage of the tribe he was closely associated with; instead he was sought to be described by his devotees in a more honourable way as a 'saviour of the host of the Vṛishṇi kings'.

DATE AND WEIGHT OF THE COIN

The coin, made of silver, weighs 32 grains. According to S. K. Chakrabortty,[86] the tribal states like the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Vemakas, etc. issued silver coins based on the 'Indo-Persian' weight-standard of about 40 grains or thereabouts. The present coin weighing 32 grains may have been based on this weight-standard, but it is doubtful if the difference of 8 grains can be explained as being due to depreciation only.

This standard seems to have been used by some Indo-Greek kings such as Heliocles, Apollodotus, Antialkidas, etc. whose coins of Attic standard are also known. If the use of the 'Indo-Persian' standard in the case of the present coin can be proved with certainty, it may throw some light on its date as well. An early date also is possible on the evidence of palaeography.

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[86] *NS*, XLVI, p. 37.

CHAPTER 14

THE YAUDHEYAS

With the exception of the coins of the Mālavas, those of the Yaudheyas that have so far come to light are the largest in number. From the standpoints of fabric, variety, type and metal the coins of the Yaudheyas form an interesting chapter in the numismatic history of India. In 1834 Captain Cautley came across coins of the Yaudheyas for the first time at Behat, near Saharanpur in U. P.[1] Next we hear from Cunningham that the coins of the Yaudheyas are found all in parts of the Punjab as far as Delhi and Ludhiana.[2] Two large finds were made at Sonpat between Delhi and Karnal (now in Haryana).[3] Cunningham obtained four Yaudheya coins in the Kangra district. The regions to the west of the Yamuna have also yielded a large number of such coins. Cunningham reports that Yaudheya coins are found "to the west of the Sutlej, in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahror, and Multan, and to the eastward in Bhatner, Abhor, Sirsa, Hansi, Panipath and Sonpat".[4] Rodgers procured some coins at Hansi and Kharkaudah.[5] Subsequently, more coins of the Yaudheyas have been recovered from various places of the Punjab, Haryana and U. P. Besides a stray coin found at a village called Baghaula in the Gurgaon district in eastern Punjab, a hoard was discovered in 1938-39 at Jaijaivanti in Jina tahsil, 25 miles west of Rohtak.[6] In 1961 some 30 miles north of Rohtak another hoard came to light.[7] As to the finds of Yaudheya coins in U. P., Prayag Dayal informs us that a hoard of 164 copper coins was unearthed in 1936 at a village called Panjya, Khat Bana in Jaunsar Bawar, tahsil Chakrata of the Dehra Dun district, U. P.[8] Later, a group of 119 copper coins of the Yaudheyas, reportedly a part of a hoard, was discovered in a village near Lansdowne in the Garhwal district.[9] While copper issues of the tribe came to light at Hastināpura in U. P. and Purana Qila, New Delhi, in course of excavations, finds of a few such coins have been recently reported from Sambhar, Rangmahal and Pallu in Rajasthan.[10]

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[1] *JASB*, III (1834), Pl. XVIII ; IV (1835), Pl. XXXIV ; *PE*, pp. 84-85, Pls. IV, 11, 12 and XIX, 22.

[2] *CASR*, XIV, p. 140.

[3] *CAI*, p. 76. Recently Sri Silak Ram of the Kurukshetra University has discovered a big hoard of coins at Sonpat. He has informed me that this hoard contains many Yaudheya coins.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[5] See *CCBM*, p. cli, fn. 9.

[6] For the Baghaula find, see *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 101-02 and for the Jaijaivanti hoard, see *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 138.

[7] *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 138.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 109-12.

Not only coins, but coin-moulds of the tribe as well have been found from time to time. A group of such moulds with a legend *Yaudheyānāṁ jaya-mantradharāṇāṁ* found at Sunet,[11] 3 miles west of Ludhiana town, were brought to light by A. F. R. Hoernle.[12] Subsequently more moulds came from Sunet.[13] But the most remarkable discovery of coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas bearing the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake* was made by the late Birbal Sahni in 1936 at Khokra Kot, a mound on the outskirts of Rohtak, now in Haryana.[14] Recently at Naurangabad, near the Bhiwani town, about 30 miles west of Rohtak, a few copper coins together with some coin-moulds have come to light, the latter with the Brāhmī legend *Yaudheyānāṁ*.[14a] The discovery of such a fair number of coin-moulds at these three places, Sunet, Khokra Kot, and Naurangabad, proves beyond doubt that they were mint-towns and presumably important centres of the Yaudheyas in early Christian centuries.

Apart from these coins and coin-moulds a terracotta seal bearing the legend *Yaudheya janapada* in the Gupta Brāhmī characters is reported to belong to the Jhajjar Museum, Rohtak.[14b] In short, all these objects definitely prove that the Yaudheyas were a prominent people with a regular administrative machinery capable of issuing coinage of remarkably variegated shape and design.

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[9] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 46f.

[10] For the Hastinapura find, see *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 22, 101, 103f; for the Purana Qila find, see *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, p. 14; the information about the Sambhar, Rangmahal and Pallu finds is obtained from B.M.S. Parmar of the Jaipur Museum. He also informs me about the existence of ten Yaudheya coins in the cabinet of the Bikaner Museum all coming from Rajasthan.

[11] A place of antiquity, Sunet seems to have been mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini as Sunetra. Sunetra also finds mention as the name of a son of the earlier Dhṛitarāshṭra, the son of Janamejaya in the Kuru dynastic list in the *Mahābhārata*. See *JNSI*, IV, p. 48.

[12] In 1884 Carr Stephens acquired three coin-moulds found at Sunet and sent them to Hoernle. The latter described them in detail in the *PASB* (1884), LIII, pp. 138-39. He, however, mistook them to be seals.

[13] In 1934 the Indian Museum acquired 41 moulds from the Lahore Museum, all of which are reported to have come from this site. More moulds recovered at Sunet are now at the Bharat Kalabhavan, Benares.

[14] Birbal Sahni, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 1-32.

[14a] *JNSI*. XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 85-87.

[14b] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pt. 2, p. 201.

Antiquity and Habitat of the Tribe

The earliest reference to the Yaudheyas is met with in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*[15] of Pāṇini. They are mentioned as an *āyudhajīvī saṅgha*, i.e. a people living by profession of arms in the *Gaṇapāṭha.*[16] Patañjali[17] also refers to them in his *Mahābhāshya.* In the *Mahābhārata*[18] the Yaudheyas have been grouped with other peoples such as the Śibis, Trigartas, etc. The Junagadh inscription[19] of the year 72 (=A. D. 150) describes the Yaudheyas as 'rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas' (*sarva-Kshatrāvishkṛita-vīra-śabdajātotsekāvidheyānāṁ Yaudheyānāṁ*) and refers to their defeat at the hands of Rudradāman and thus indicates the power and prestige enjoyed by the tribe during the period. The *Mahāmāyūrī*[20] describes Purañjaya as the tutelary *yaksha* of the Yaudheya country. The Bijaygadh inscription[21] of about the third century A. D. speaks of one *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsenāpati* who happened to be the leader of the Yaudheyas ; and perhaps the same Mahāsenāpati has been alluded to in the contemporary Brāhmī legend *Mahāsenāpatasya vīradvāre* borne by a seal coming from Rohtak.[21] The tribe figures in the list of autonomous peoples in the Allahabad inscription[22] of Samudragupta wherein they have been described as acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta emperor. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[23] locates the Yaudheyas in the northern division and also refers to a people called Yaudheyaka. The *Purāṇas*[24] describe them either as the inhabitants of the north or of the Madhyadeśa. The *Chāndravyākaraṇa*[25] as well as the *Kāśikā*[26] contain references to the Yaudheyas. The *Yaśastilaka*[27] of Somadevasūri of the tenth century contains a description of the city of Rājapura in the Yaudheya country, the city probably being identical with Rājapura of the former Patiala State, now an important junction of the North-Western Railway. The eleventh-century grammatical text, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[28] and the twelfth-century lexicon, *Vaijayantī*[29] also refer to the Yaudheyas and their country respectively.

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[15] V. 3. 117.

[16] V. 3. 117 ; IV. 1. 178. [17] IV. 1. 117.

[18] II. 48. 13 (BORI edition). In the *Droṇa*-(18.16) and *Karṇa*-(4.46) *parvas* Arjuna is stated to have defeated the Yaudheyas. Elsewhere (*Droṇa*, 132.25 ; 136.5) the tribe is mentioned along with the Madrakas (and also with the Mālavas in some recensions).

[19] *EI*, VII, p. 42f.

[20] *JA*, 1915, pp. 45, 96-97. Also *JUPHS*, XV, pt 2, pp. 28, 43.

[21] For the Bijaygadh inscription, see *CII*, p. 251f ; the above-noted seal from Rohtak bearing the figure of a bull has been reproduced by Bhagavandev in his *Haryāṇe ke vīr Yaudheya* (in Hindi), Gurukul Jhajjhar, Rohtak, Paus 2025 Vikramābda. Bhagavandev's identification of Vīradvāra with Rohtak, however, lacks conviction.

[22] *CII*, p. 8

[23] XIV. 28. For other references see IV. 25 ; V. 40 ; 67, 75 ; XVI. 22 ; XVII. 19. For Yaudheyaka, see XI. 59. For a Yaudheyaka king, see XI. 59 ; also IX. 11.

[24] The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* mentions them among the peoples of north India (LVIII. 47), while the *Garuḍapurāṇa* places their territory in the Madhyadeśa (LV. 11). Jayaswal identifies the Śūras of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII. 1. 36) with he Yaudheyas, *Imperial History of India*, p. 149.

The *Mahābhārata*, besides mentioning *Yaudheya* as a tribal designation, also speaks of it as an individual name. In the Epic *Yaudheya* figures as the son of Yudhishṭhira by his wife Devikā.[30] This tradition is also echoed in the Purāṇas.[31] The *Harivaṁśa*[32] states that the Yaudheyas were descended from Uśīnara and this tradition is also recorded in a number of Puranic texts.[33] According to Pargiter,[34] Uśīnara established the Yaudheyas, Ambashṭhas, Navarāshṭra and the city of Kṛimila on the eastern border of the Punjab.

Alexander in his campaigns in India met many tribes, names of a majority of which are recorded in the Classical accounts. While tribes like the Malloi, Siboi, etc. mentioned by the Classical authors are recognisable in their Indian forms *Mālava*, *Śibi*, etc. the Yaudheyas do not find any similar mention in their writings. This may lead to the inference that the Macedonian hero did not have any contact with them in the course of his campaigns. Cunningham[35] maintains that the *Abastanai* whom Perdikkas subdued (Arrian *Anabasis*, VI. 15) "have a strong claim to be identified with the Johiya Rajputs" who, in turn, are the descendants of the ancient Yaudheyas. Cunningham[36] also takes *Sambastae* of Diodorus (XVII. 102), *Sabarcae* of Curtius (IX. 8) and *Ossadii* of Arrian (*op. cit.*, VI. 15) identical with the Abastanai and hence the Yaudheya-Johiyas. Although the identification of the Yaudheyas with the Johiyas carries conviction, their identification with the Abastanai, Sambastae, Ossadii, etc. cannot be accepted, since it is now generally believed that the

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[25] IV. 3. 93.
[26] V. 3. 117.
[27] *Yaśastilaka*, Bk. 1 ; K.K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 395.
[28] IV. 3. 154.
[29] *Bhūmikaṇḍa*, verse 28.
[30] I. 90. 83 (BORI edition).
[31] *Matsya*, L. 56.
[32] Chapter 32.
[33] *Vāyu*, Ch. 99, *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 74, *Brahma*, Ch. 13, *Matsya*, Ch. 48, etc:
[34] *AIHT*, p. 264.
[35] *CAGI*, p. 280.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81. It is to be noted here that the Ossadii was a people different from Abastanai or Sambracae. The distinction between the Abastanai and the Ossadii is clear in Arrian's separate mention of them.

Abastanai, Sambastae, Sabarcae, etc. of the Classical accounts represent the Ambashṭhas of Indian literature.[37]

Alexander may not have any occasion to meet the Yaudheyas, but it is not unlikely that the Classical writers were aware of their existence. Arrian[38] states that "the country beyond the river Hyphasis was fertile, and that the men were good agriculturists, and gallant in war ; and that they conducted their own political affairs in a regular and constitutional manner, for the multitude was ruled by the aristocracy, who governed in no respect contrary to the rules of moderation". Describing the men of the country in question as excelling in valour, Arrian further states that though Alexander was eager to meet them, his army was by no means ready to advance further and so the Macedonian hero had to turn back without crossing the Beas. Jayaswal[39] has pointed out that this description of Arrian tallies with Kauṭilya's account of some *gaṇas* as *vārttāśastropajīvinaḥ*, those given to industry and trade and warfare. He[40] also conjectures that the unnamed republic adjoining the Beas was that of the Yaudheyas. Altekar[41] endorses the suggestion of Jayaswal.

The Yaudheyas flourished as early as the fifth century B. C. as is evident from their mention by Pāṇini. Hence they may be believed to have flourished in Alexander's time. The region where the unnamed republic has been placed by Arrian is comprised in the area dominated by the Yaudheyas as known from the distribution of their coins. It is also noteworthy that the Yaudheya country was a prosperous one in which abundant corn was grown. On these grounds the evidence of Arrian relating to the unnamed republic to the east of the Beas may be applied to the Yaudheya country.

The *Mahābhārata*[42] while speaking of Nakula's conquest of the countries of the west states that a place called Bahudhānyaka was occupied by the fourth Pāṇḍava. Bahudhānyaka is also mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.[43] The site has been fixed with a tolerable amount of certainty as a result of the discovery of a large number of coin-moulds bearing the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ bahudhañake* at Khokra Kot near Rohtak, Khokra Kot evidently being a mint-town of the tribe. The inclusion of Rohtak and its adjoining regions within the Yaudheya country is indicated by the *Mahābhārata*[44] which state that Rohītaka,[45] abounding in cattle and crops, was the favourite abode of Kārttikeya, the war-god; the place was inhabited by a people called the Mattamayūrakas, the name having obvious connection with *mayūra* or peacock, the mount of Kārttikeya, and there seems to be little doubt about their identification with the Yaudheyas. Rohītaka also finds mention in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.[45] However, the appearance of Kārttikeya on a number of Yaudheya coins and the discovery of Yaudheya coins and coin-moulds at and near Rohtak together with the Epic tradition about Rohītaka's association with Kārttikeya and its prosperity strongly support the identification of Rohītaka with the modern Rohtak as an important seat of the power of the Yaudheyas.

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[37] See *PHAI*, pp. 255-56. [38] V. 25.

[39] *HP*, pp. 57-58. [40] *Ibid.*, p. 57. [41] *JNSI*, XI, p. 50.

[42] II. 29. 5 (BORI edition) : *Marubhūmiṁ sa kārtsnyena tath-aiva Bahudhānyakam.*

[43] *JA*, 1915, pp. 33, 64. Also *JUPHS*, XV, pt. 2, pp. 27, 32.

[44] II. 29. 4-5a (BORI edition): *Tato bahudhanaṁ ramyaṁ gav-āśva-dhana-dhānyavat|Kārttikeyasya dayitaṁ Rohītakam-upādravat| Tatra yuddhaṁ mahad-*

Thus it is almost certain that Rohītaka or Rohtak formed the chief habitat, if not the cradle-land, of the Yaudheyas. As has been said before, not only Rohtak but also several other places of the Punjab, Haryana and U.P. have yielded coins and coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas. On the basis of the findspots of these coins and coin-moulds Altekar[46] and others have given the Yaudheyas the credit of building up 'the largest republic' extending 'from Ludhiyana to Saharanpur in one direction and from Saharanpur to Bhawalpur in another'. The Yaudheyas seem to have spread themselves over this extensive territory, but it is doubtful whether they remained in occupation of this territory at any given period of time. They possibly held different parts of this extensive area in the course of their diffusion at different times.

It may be concluded with a fair degree of certainty that Rohtak and its environs formed the heart of the country of the Yaudheyas which by a process of expansion gradually came to cover a wide area including regions as far as Garhwal district of U.P. and portions of Rajasthan probably through the different branches of the tribe.[47]

COINS OF THE YAUDHEYAS

The Yaudheyas issued both silver and copper coinages. Some round potin coins without any legend have also been attributed to them on the ground of 'the slightly scyphate fabric, metal and pro-

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vṛittaṁ Śūrair-Mattamayūrakaiḥ // Nīlakaṇṭha explains *Rohītaka* and *Mattamayūraka* as the names of a mountain and a tribe respectively (*Rohītakaṁ girim*/ *Mattamayūrasaṁghaiḥ Kshatriyaiḥ*).

[45] *JA*, 1915, pp. 35, 68. Also *JUPUS*, XV, pt. 2, pp. 27, 34.

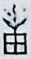
[46] *JNSI*, XI, p. 50. For a similar view, see S.N. Majumdar-Sastri, *CAGI*, p. 689f.

[47] According to Smith, Beas was "the boundary between the Yaudheyas east of that river and the Madrakas to the west", *JRAS*, 1897, p. 889.

venance'. Typologically, round copper coins with the legends *Bhānuva* or *Bhānuvasya* and *Rāvaṇasya* also belong to them. Coins of the Yaudheyas may be divided into following classes and varieties on the basis of devices and symbols as well as their arrangements.

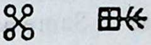
Class 1

Variety A

Obverse : 

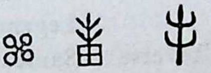
Reverse : Plain

Variety B

Obverse : 

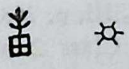
Reverse : Plain (*CN 106*)

Variety C

Obverse : 

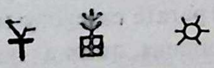
Reverse : Plain (*CN 107 a-b*)

Variety D

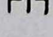
Obverse : 

Reverse : Plain

Variety E

Obverse :  (*CN 108*)

Legend in Brāhmī :
Mahārājasa

Reverse : 

Class 2

Variety A

Obverse : Bull standing right facing a railing with curved object, probably a *yūpa*.
Legend in Brāhmī :
Above : *Yaudheyānāṁ*
Below : *Bahudhañake*
Reverse : Elephant right, *nandipada* symbol above ; uncertain pennon-like object behind. (*CN 109 a-c*)

Variety B

Obverse : Bull to left before a *yūpa* which is simply reversed. Same legend in Brāhmī.
Reverse : Same as above. (*CN 110*)

Variety C

Obverse : Horse standing right facing a *yūpa*, with head turned round touching back and manes flowing.
Legend fragmentary.
Reverse : Same. (*CN 111*)

N.B.—Variety C is represented by an Indian Museum specimen (*CCIM*, Pl. XXI, 13). The animal appearing on the obverse is almost definitely horse, and not bull, as Smith thinks (*ibid.*, p. 180). The identification of the animal in question with horse was suggested by Bhramar Ghosh in *IC*, III, p. 763.

Coins belonging to Class 2 are mostly made of copper. The other metal used is potin.

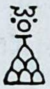
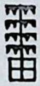
Class 3

Coins struck on silver as well as copper may be generally grouped together to form a separate category to which, besides the Indian and British Museum specimens, quite a large number of coins found at Panjya, Dehra Dun district, were added in 1936 (see fn. 8) ; some of them bear new symbols and animals. This category is further enlarged by the addition of more specimens hailing from Lansdowne, Garhwal district (see fn. 9). A detailed classification of all these coins is attempted below.

Variety A

Obverse : Kārttikeya, six-headed, standing facing, holding spear in right hand and resting left hand on hip. Legend in Brāhmī :
Bhagavatasv(ā)min(o) Brahmaṇya Y(au) dheya.

Reverse : Six-headed goddess standing facing on lotus.

 on left  on right. (*CN 112*)

below.

N.B. This variety is represented by a unique silver coin belonging to the British Museum. It differs from the copper issues chiefly in respect of their legends. While the legend borne by it, as noted above, is *Bhagavatasvāmino Brahmaṇya Yaudheya,* the legend on copper pieces (Variety B and others) is *Bhagavatasvāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya.*

Copper coins of Class 3 belong to one particular type, viz. 'Kārttikeya : goddess' type. Only in one case the goddess on the reverse is replaced by Śiva. As regards Kārttikeya, he is generally depicted with six heads (sometimes three, five or all his heads are found to be crested). On the ground of arrangement of symbols copper coins of this class are divided into the following varieties.

Variety B

Obverse : Same as in Variety A. Legend in Brāhmī : *Bhagavatasv(ā)* (or *sa*) *mino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or *sa*) *Kumārasya* (or *sa*) around.

Reverse : Goddess standing facing with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip. Same symbols as in Variety A, but the arrangement is different. Wavy line below. (*CN 113 a-c*)

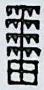
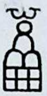
Variety C

Obverse : Kārttikeya as before standing on lotus with a vase in field on right.
Fragmentary legend in Brāhmī : *Brahmaṇyadevasya.*

Reverse : Goddess (number of heads indistinct) standing on lotus. Tree within railing on left. Three-arched symbol on right. (*CN 114*)

Variety D

Obverse : Kārttikeya as before. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : Goddess standing facing as before, but  on left and  on right. No wavy line. (*CN 115*)

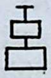
N. B. Allan is not correct in describing Kārttikeya with one radiate head (*infra*).

Variety E

Obverse : Goddess standing facing, right hand raised and left resting on hip. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : Kārttikeya as before with six heads standing facing between the tree symbol on left and three-arched symbol on right (as above). (*CN 116*)

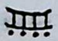
Variety F

Obverse : Kārttikeya as before (number of heads indistinct), vase (or stupa ?)  on right. Legend blurred.

Reverse : Six-headed deity (female ?). Tree on right. An indistinct symbol to left. (*CN 117*)

Variety G

Obverse : Kārttikeya as before as in Variety F but holding a spear in right hand, and peacock on right.

Reverse : Multi-headed deity (female ?), tree in railing to right,  (river and/or ladder symbol ?) below. (*CN 118*)

Variety H

Obverse : Indistinct.

Reverse : Goddess standing facing, three-arched symbol to left, other symbols and legend indistinct.

Variety I

Obverse : Kārttikeya with spear to his left. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : One-headed goddess with head radiate, with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip. Six-arched symbol (surmounted by a crescent ?) and tree in railing.

Variety J

Obverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing with right hand raised towards spear and left hand resting on hip.

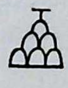
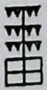
Reverse : Three-headed Śiva standing facing with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip. Tree in railing on right and arched symbol (?) on left. (*CN 119*)

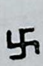
Class 4

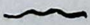
Copper coins which generally show Kārttikeya on the obverse and a deer on the reverse may be placed under this head. On some occasions Kārttikeya is replaced by Śiva on the obverse and instead of deer is found either a bull or a horse (in one unique case an ass or mule ?) or a leopard on the reverse. Legends (same as those of Variety B and others of Class 3) are in most cases illegible and fragmentary. On a few coins *darma* (probably a mistake for *dharma* or *dramma*) has been read. This class may be subdivided into the following varieties dependent on the arrangement of symbols.

Variety A

Obverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing facing, holding spear in right hand and left on hip. Traces of incomplete legend.

Reverse : Deer right.  on right.  on left.

Other symbols  above.

 below.

Variety B

Obverse : Kārttikeya, probably single-headed.
Legend in Brāhmī : (legible portion) —*ṇyadeva.*

Reverse : Deer standing to right. Below water or a river and its grassy bank. Above is a vase. To its left an indistinct symbol, probably a tree. (*CN 120*)

N.B. The variety is represented by an Indian Museum specimen (*CCIM*, p. 182, no. 19). Smith has not reproduced this coin in his *Catalogue.* P. Banerjee who has described and illustrated this coin in *JNSI*, XIV, p. 45f, Pl. III, 25 has detected some incompleteness and inaccuracies in Smith's description. The river and its grassy bank, represented by vertical lines, for instance, has been omitted by Smith in his description. Smith has taken the vase to be a crescent.

Variety C

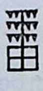
Obverse : Kārttikeya with the usual six heads. Extant legend in Brāhmī:
Brahmaṇya.

Reverse : Same as above. The vase, more or less of crude shape, 'has a ring or handle at either side, and some decorative lines on its body and a plant is coming out of its mouth.' (*CN 121*)

N.B. This variety is also represented by a coin belonging to the Indian Museum (*CCIM*, p. 182, no. 20). It is not illustrated. P. Banerjee has pointed out that Smith in his description "failed to take note of the plant and hesitatingly described the whole symbol as a shrine with curved roof". Banerjee's description has been verified by me after an examination of the coin; it is also clear from the reproduction of the coin, *JNSI*, XIV, Pl. III, 26. Banerjee further points out that the vase on the coin in question "is different in shape and design".

Variety D

Obverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya, standing facing with right hand raised, left on hip; to his right a spear bound with fillet. Traces of incomplete legend.

Reverse : Deer to left. The  on right and the three-arched symbol in railing surmounted by a *nandipada* on left (as in Class 3, Variety D). Two symbols as seen in Variety A above.

Variety E

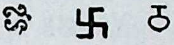
Obverse : Same as above. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : Deer to left. Wavy line below. Six-arched symbol as in Variety A and the tree-in-railing above deer.

Variety F

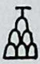
Obverse : Same as above. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : Deer to left. The usual tree symbol on right and six-arched symbol as in Variety B of Class 3 on left.

Symbols  above.

Variety G

Obverse : Same as above. Traces of inscription.

Reverse : Deer to right before building (?).  on left and

above.

Legend in Brāhmī above deer : *Darma.* (*CN 122*)

Variety H

Obverse : Same as above. Spear in the right hand of the deity. Extant legend : *Brahmaṇyadeva.*

Reverse : Two deer standing, showing as one above the other.

Variety I

Obverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing, holding spear in right hand and resting left arm on hip.

Reverse : Horse standing to right. Tree and arched symbol (?) above.

Variety J

Obverse : Traces of Kārttikeya standing.

Reverse : Bull standing to right. Tree on right. Arched symbol (?) on left. (*CN 123*)

Variety K

Obverse : Traces of Kārttikeya standing.

Reverse : Ass (mule ?) standing to right on some round object. Tree on right. Arched symbol (?) on left. (*CN 124*)

Variety L

Obverse : One-headed Śiva with trident.

Reverse : Deer standing to left. Arched symbol (?) on left.

Variety M

Obverse : Same as above. Traces of inscription.
Reverse : Deer standing to right before a three-arched symbol surmounted by a standard as is noted before. Rest illegible. (*CN 125*)

Variety N

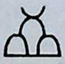
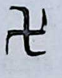
Obverse : Indistinct.
Reverse : Leopard standing to left.

Class 5

This class consists of coins, made of copper, and round in shape. Formerly it was represented by one British Museum specimen. Later, 25 coins were added to it (see *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 47f, Pl. VI, 9-11). The legend on the British Museum specimen was tentatively read by Allan as *Bhānuva*. With the help of the new finds the legend may be restored as *Rājño Bhānuvasya*.

The solitary British Museum piece belongs to 'three-arched mountain : standard-trident' type, but in the group of the remaining 25 coins six-headed Kārttikeya and another deity (either Lakshmī or Śiva holding a trident) are met with on their reverse. Thus they may be said to have belonged to separate varieties. The other important point is that some of them bear an additional word *rājño* along with the usual *Bhānuva* or *Bhānuvasya*. They are also found to be of different weights.

Variety A

Obverse :   Legend in Brāhmī : *Bhānuva*.

Undulating line below.

Reverse : Standard and trident. (*CN 126*)

Variety B

Obverse : Same. Below legend in Brāhmī : *Bhānuvasa*.
Reverse : Standing deity, probably Śiva or Lakshmī.

Variety C

Obverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī : *Rājño Bhānuvasa*.
Reverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya with spear or standard.

Variety D

Obverse : Indistinct. Legend : *Bhānuvasya.*
Reverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya.

Class 6

This class is represented by only one small square copper coin belonging to the collection of the British Museum. It is supposed to bear the name of the tribe with the figure of a bull on the obverse. But the legend is extremely fragmentary and hence the attribution doubtful. Palaeographically assignable to the first century B. C. it may be described thus :

Obverse : Bull to right ; fragmentary legend in Brāhmī : *(Yau)dh(e)y(ā)n(āṁ)* above.
Reverse : Illegible. (*CN 127*)

Class 7

Coins belonging to this class are struck on copper and round in shape. These are definitely late specimens to be placed in the third-fourth century A. D. They belong to 'one-headed Kārttikeya : female deity' type. While coins comprised in this class portray the war-god along with his *vāhana* peacock, those of Class 3 which likewise bear the figure of Kārttikeya do not depict his mount. The reverse is similar to that of coins of Class 3 in respect of the device which is the figure of a goddess, but on some specimens we find additional features like a flower vase, an inverted *nandipada*, a *śaṅkha* and *nāga* symbol. Further, the occurrence of either *dvi* or *tṛi* at the end of legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* is peculiar to this class. Such coins with additional *dvi* or *tṛi* are comparatively few in number. Besides the specimens belonging to the British Museum and the Indian Museum, some more coins having *dvi* or *tṛi* have come to light as a result of the discovery of two hoards made in 1938-39 and 1961 near Rohtak (*supra*, p. 195, fns. 6-7). However, the coins under review may be divided into the following varieties.

Variety A

Obverse : Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing, holding spear in right hand, left hand on hip, peacock to left at left foot. Legend in Brāhmī : *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya.*
Reverse : Female deity walking to left with right hand raised and left hand on hip ; border of dots, (*CN 128 a-c*)

Variety B

Obverse : Same as above, with addition of *dvi* at the end of the legend which is the same as above.

Reverse : Same as above, with addition of a flower vase on left and inverted *nandipada* on right. (*CN 129*)

Variety C.

Obverse : Same as above, but *tṛi* at the end of the legend.

Reverse : Same as above, but shell instead of vase on left and the symbol on right. (*CN 130*)

N.B. Altekar published a coin belonging to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, showing distinctly the word *tṛi* at the end of the legend, see *JNSI*, XI, Pl. 1, No. 8.

Variety D

Obverse : Same as above, but legend as in Variety A.

Reverse : Same as above with vase on left and the on right. (*CN 131*)

N.B. Allan's description does not tally with the photograph of the coins.

Class 8

Copper coins grouped under this class were brought to our notice by S. C. Kala in *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 46-48. Belonging to a private collection, they are cut carelessly and the arrangement in the placing of the legend, symbols and human figures varies from one coin to another. What gives them a distinctive character is that they bear the name of one Rāvaṇa, presumably a ruler who is not known from any source, numismatic or otherwise. Though the coins do not furnish the name of any tribe, they are attributable to the Yaudheyas on the stylistic, symbolical and typological grounds. The attribution is supported by the figure of six-headed Kārttikeya on some specimens (Kala, however, does not specifically describe the figure as such in the description of one coin of this group). The other symbols consist of river, mountain, combined trident battle-axe (the last-named symbol is pretty common to the Audumbara issues). Out of the 15 coins of this class, Kala has described only four, which in his words are noted below.

Variety A

Obverse : *Rāvaṇasya.* Crested goddess below.
Reverse : A standing male figure outside an arched gateway. (*CN 132*)

Variety B

Obverse : *Rāvaṇasya.*
Reverse : Worn out. (*CN 133*)

Variety C

Obverse : —*vaṇasya* ; below a single-headed female deity. *Chaitya* on right.
Reverse : Trident on right and another symbol on left. (*CN 134*)

Variety D

Obverse : Above a symbol. Below *Rāvaṇa.*
Reverse : A trident on right and trident combined with battle-axe on left inside a beaded border. (*CN 135*)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COINS

Some uninscribed small potin coins, included in Class 1, have been connected by Allan[48] with the coins of Class 2 of the Yaudheyas on the ground of their 'slightly scyphate fabric, metal and provenance' and have been attributed to the same tribe. The absence of any legend on these coins and their general fabric tend to place them earlier than the coins of Class 2 which carry the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake.* Class 1 also includes some coins with the legend *Mahārājasa* which have been dated by Allan[49] on palaeographical grounds to the first century B. C., possibly to its first half. The uninscribed coins of Class 1 (i.e. potin coins) appear to be earlier still : they may belong to the latter part of the second century B. C. Coins of Class 2 (bull : elephant) which are later than those of Class 1 may be placed towards the end of the first century B. C. While stratigraphic evidence of the coins of this class in the excavations at Hastinapura and Purana Qila, New Delhi, tends to date them to a period round about the Christian era,[50] similarities with contemporaneous coins of some other tribes also points to the same chronological direction. Thus the connection between the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas is noticeable in the common device of the bull before *yūpa*, the Ārjunāyana coinage with this device being generally attributed to the first century A. D. The 'bull : elephant' type of the present coins is further reminiscent of some Audumbara coins, which are also assignable to the same century. It is not unlikely, therefore, that there were some sort of inter-connections between the Yaudheya coins of Class 2 on the one hand and the Ārjunāyana and Audumbara issues of a similar period on the other. Class 6, represented by a single small square copper coin with the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ*, seems to be contemporaneous with Class 2 coins.

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[48] *CCBM*, p. cxlvii.

[49] *Ibid.*

Coins of Classes 3 and 4 bear the legend *Bhagavata svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* (on one unique silver coin it is *Bhagavata svāmino Brahmaṇya Yaudheya*, and the explicit mention of the tribal name in it has enabled us to attribute numerous copper specimens of the Classes 3 and 4 to the Yaudheyas). These legends, like those of the Kuṇinda coins belonging to one Amoghabhūti, 'vary between Sanskrit and Prakrit'.[51] The legend *Rājño Vīrayaśasya* on the Kulūta coinage, for example, may also be recalled in this connection. Such legends represent a stage when Prakrit was in the process of being replaced by Sanskrit, and the period of the stage seems to have been first century B. C.- second century A. D. The Yaudheya coins in question thus may be assigned to the second century or the early part of the third century A. D. Coins of Classes 5 and 8 bearing the names of Bhānuvarmā and Rāvaṇa (presumably names of Yaudheya chiefs) also seem to have belonged to the second-third century A. D. Such a dating seems to be supported by the fact that the module of the coins of Class 5 is the same as that of Classes 3 and 4.

Coins of Class 7 with the legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya(ḥ)* betray Kushāṇa influence in style and type. The scripts on them are

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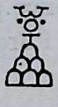
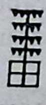
[50] For Allan's dating, *op. cit.*, p. cxlix. Rapson dates them to c. 100 B. C., see *RIC*, p. 15. For stratigraphic evidence, see *Ancient India*, nos. 10 and 11, pp. 22, 101 and *Indian Archaeology*, 1955, p. 14. On palaeographical grounds A. H. Dani and T. P. Verma assign these coins to the first century B. C. See Dani; *Indian Palaeography*, p. 61 ; Verma, *Palaeography of Brāhmī Script*, p. 63.

[51] The similarity between the Yaudheya and the Kuṇinda coins is apparent also in the use of symbols. Thus the symbols like  and  with an undulating line below appear in both the series.

very close to the Gupta characters. Both Allan[52] and Smith[53] have assigned them to the third-fourth century A. D.

It thus appears that coins of the Yaudheyas can be chronologically divided into three groups : the first belonging to the second century B. C.- first century A. D. ; the second belonging to the second-third century A. D. ; and the last belonging to the end of the third and the first half of the fourth century A. D.

METROLOGY OF THE COINS

The Yaudheyas issued potin, copper and silver coins. The potin coins belonging to the British Museum weigh between 14.5 and 77 grains. The Indian Museum possesses three brass coins of the tribe which weigh 35.8, 40.3 and 42.2 grains respectively. Only one silver coin of the tribe has been discovered so far. Belonging to the collection of the British Museum, it weighs 26.0 grains, the weight being lighter than the lightest Kuṇinda coin in the same Museum (*CCBM*, No. 3, weighs 29.0 grains). The copper issues are normally abundant. Copper coins belonging to the collection of the British Museum weigh between 26.0 and 191.0 grains. There is one square coin marked here as Class 6 which weighs 9.50 grains. British Museum specimens of lighter weights are few in number (*CCBM*, Nos. 54, 55, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76). Most of the coins belonging to that Museum have weights between 130 and 180 grains. The Indian Museum specimens also demonstrate two kinds of weights—one with weights varying between 31.5 and 71.1 and the other between 109.9 and 178.5 grains. Coins found at Dehra Dun also seem to have followed two kinds of weights. Specimens published by Dayal in the *JNSI* weigh between 92 and 195 grains. Most of the coins published by Kala in the *JNSI* are above 100 grains. Thus metrologically the Yaudheya copper coins so far discovered seem to have belonged to two categories-one of lighter weight roughly weighing between 30 and 80 grains and the other of heavier weight roughly ranging between 100 and 200 grains. Coins of heavier weight are comparatively abundant.

The weights of the copper coins of the Yaudheyas tend to show that they belong to Indian *paṇa* standard of 144 or 145 grains. They appear to be of $1\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ denominations. The unique square copper piece (Class 6) seems to be $\frac{1}{16}$ *paṇa* or a *māshaka.* The British Museum specimen of 191 grains or Dayal's specimen weighing 195 grains probably represents a $1\frac{3}{8}$ *paṇa* piece. The Indian Museum specimen with the weight of 178.5 grains may obviously be taken as a 1¼ *paṇa* piece. Coins conforming to the *paṇa* standard and its subdivisions are to be found in the collections of Museum in and outside India. In other words, the Yaudheyas may be said to have followed the indigenous weight-standard in their copper issues. Yet no definite result can be obtained by imagining subdivisions and multiples to correspond to the diversity of weights as the standard is not known uptil now with perfect certainty. Thus it is difficult to explain the metrology of the Yaudheya copper coins in more precise terms.

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[52] *Op. cit.*, p. cl.

[53] *CCIM*, pp. 165, 182.

But the unique silver piece, according to Allan,[54] like the silver issues of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas and Kuṇindas, is based on the hemidrachms of the later Greek and Śaka kings, and belongs to the class of hemidrachms of the so-called Indo-Persian standard. If this silver coin be equated to the heaviest copper coin of its cognate class (i.e. the class comprising Brahmaṇyadeva type of coins) belonging to the British Museum weighing 191 grains, the ratio between silver and copper will be found to be about 1 : 7.5. The comparison of this ratio with that prevalent in the Maurya-Śuṅga period which was 1 : 5.7 will show that in the second century A. D., the period of Brahmaṇyadeva coins, there was a comparative paucity of silver and consequent increase in its price. Yaudheya coins of later days—those of Class 7—are all made of copper. This fact may lead to an inference that the Yaudheyas who once issued silver coins reverted to the older practice of issuing coins only in copper.

INTERPRETATION OF THE COIN-LEGENDS

The following legends have been read on the coins of the Yaudheyas :

(*i*) *Mahārājasa* on coins of Variety E of Class 1 ;
(*ii*) *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake* on coins of Class 2 ;
(*iii*) *Bhagavata-svāmino-Brahmaṇya-Yaudheya* on a coin of Variety A of Class 3 ;
(*iv*) *Bhagavata-svāṃino-Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* on coins of Varieties B-J of Class 3 and Varieties A-N of Class 4. On a few coins belonging to Class 4 *darma*, probably a mistake for *dharma* or *dramma*, seems to have been added ;
(*v*) *Bhānuva* or *Bhānuvasya*, sometimes with an additional word *Rājño* before *Bhānuvasya*, on coins of Class 5 ;
(*vi*) *Yaudheyānāṁ* on a coin of Class 6 ;

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[54] *Op. cit.*, p. clxiii.

(*vii*) *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* (*ḥ*) on coins of Class 7; on some specimens either *dvi* or *tṛi* at the end of the legend occurs.

(*viii*) *Rāvaṇa* or *Rāvaṇasya* on coins of Class 8.

The first legend *Mahārājasa* appears on coins of Class 1 (Variety E). The characters of the legend are of the first century B. C. The legend is in Prakrit meaning 'of the Mahārāja'. *Mahārāja* appears to be not a personal name, but a title. And if so, the Yaudheyas appear to have inclined towards monarchy.

The second legend once posed a problem to the scholars. They were certain about *Yaudheyānāṁ* but not about the rest of the legend which they read differently. The readings proposed by them are: *Bahudhañake*,[55] *Kṛipudhañaba*,[56] *Kupradhañaba*,[57] *Bhupadhanusha*[58] and *Bhūmidhanusha*.[59] Of them *Bahudhañake* as proposed by Rapson is supported by the discovery of a large number of coin-moulds near Rohtak by the late Birbal Sahni.[60] The full legend may, therefore, be read with certainty as *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake*.

Bahudhañaka (in locative *Bahudhañake*) is definitely a place-name and is the same as *Bahudhānyaka* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as having been conquered by Nakula in the course of his expedition in the west. In association with *Bahudhānyaka* another place called *Marubhūmi* is said to have been conquered by the fourth Pāṇdava. While *Marubhūmi*, as distinguished from *Bahudhānyaka* (i.e. a fertile land rich in corn), may be taken as identical with the arid region of the modern Marwar in Rajasthan,[60a] *Bahudhānyaka* seems to correspond with Rohtak and its neighbourhood in Haryana. This is confirmed by a large number of coin-moulds with the word *Bahudhañake* inscribed on them hailing from Rohtak. The legend *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake*, i.e. *Yaudheyānāṁ-Bahudhānyake* is to be translated as '(coin) of the Yaudheyas (living) at Bahudhānyaka'. The coins in question are, therefore, to be attributed to the Yaudheyas of Bahudhānyaka.

The third legend appearing on a unique silver piece was read by Cunningham[61] as *Bhagavata swamina Brahmaṇa Yaudheya*. It was improved upon by Allan[62] who observed that "a space between *ṇya* and *yau* suggests we should supply *sa* from the copper coins". He thus changed the order and read it as *Yaudheya-Bhāgavata-svamino Brahmaṇya* (*sa* or *sya*) thereby meaning 'of Brahmaṇya (a name of Kārttikeya), the divine lord of the Yaudheyas'. A comparison of this legend with the practically identical legend appearing on copper pieces (see below) will show that the first part of the component is actually *Bhagavata* (*ḥ* or *to*) meaning 'of the holy one'. Allan's eye-copy of the legend (*CCBM*, p. 295, col. 1) presented in contemporary script also supports the reading *Bhagavata*(*ḥ*).[63] But as *Bhāgavata* literally means 'a devotee of the Bhagavat or the worshipful one' and not 'the divine lord', the intended reading of the legend is either *Yaudheyānāṁ Bhagavataḥ svāmino Brahmaṇyasya* meaning '(coin) of the Yaudheyas (and) of the divine lord Brahmaṇya' or '(coin) of *bhagavān* Brahmaṇyadeva, lord (*svāmī*) of the Yaudheyas'; or *Bhagavataḥ svāmino Brahmaṇyasya Yaudheyānāṁ* meaning '(coin) of the lord (*svāmī*) Brahmaṇya god (*bhagavān*) of the Yaudheyas'. All these different readings, however, do not make any substantial change in the meaning.

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[55] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 107, fn. 1.

[56] *Lahore Museum Catalogue*, I, No. 3, p. 136, fn. 2.

[57] *CCBM*, p. cxlviii.

[58] *CCIM*, p. 181, fn. 1

[59] *CASR*, XIV, p. 141.

[60] *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

[60a] According to Buddha Prakash the Mattamayūras, a branch or clan of the Yaudheyas, concentrated at and near Rohtak and hence the surrounding area came to be known as Mayūrabhūmi, a variant of Marubhūmi in the *Mahābhārata*. See *Hariyana Research Journal*, (Kurukshetra), I, no. 3, p. 3. While it is difficult to derive Marubhūmi from Mayūrabhūmi, the location of the former in Rajasthan is too well-known to need any special mention.

[61] *CAI*, p. 78.

Legend No. 4, as read by Allan,[64] is *Bhagavata-svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* which he translates as 'of Kumāra, the divine lord, Brahmaṇyadeva'. This legend fragmentarily occurs on the copper coins belonging to Class 4 and the full legend has been restored from a careful study of a number of specimens. A comparison of this legend with the one occurring on the silver piece will show that while the latter contains the word *Yaudheya* and omits the expressions *devasya* and *Kumārasya*, the former adds the last two expressions without any reference to *Yaudheya*. The meaning of this legend is, therefore, that the coins bearing it are 'of the divine lord Brahmaṇyadeva (alias) Kumāra'. Thus coins bearing this legend seem to have been issued in the name of the war-god Kārttikeya. As the presiding god of the Yaudheyas is known to have been Kārttikeya whose effigy together with his name Brahmaṇya appears on the above-noted silver coin, the present copper specimens also are to be attributed to the same tribe, though the name *Yaudheya* is not mentioned in the coin-legends in question. It is to be concluded, therefore, that the territory of the Yaudheyas was administered in the name of the war-god Kārttikeya, known as Brahmaṇyadeva and Kumāra, as that of the Kuṇindas was ruled in the name of Śiva (Chatreśvara).[65] That a quasi-theocracy practising administration of a realm in the name of a divinity was not unusual in early times is shown by an analogous instance furnished by a seal of the third-fourth century A. D. discovered at Bhita (U.P.) The seal-legend *Śrī Vindhya-bedhana-mahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisṛishṭa-rājyasya. Vṛishadhvajasyasya Gautamiputrasya* has been interpreted by Sir John Marshall as 'of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya'.[66] Marshall's suggestion that the seal "seems to indicate that in ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their *ishṭadevatā* and considered themselves as mere agents," derives considerable force from the quasi-theocratic form of the government of the Yaudheyas and Kuṇindas.

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[62] *Op. cit.*, p. cxlix.

[63] *Bhagavata* also occurs in the legend appearing on the copper pieces. J. N. Banerjea informs us that some of the better preserved copper coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, "have a distinct *Bhagavata* (*ḥ* or *to*)", *JNSI*, XIII, p. 161. I endorse this view on a personal examination of these coins.

[64] *Op. cit.*, p. cl.

On some specimens which carry the above legend an additional word *darma* is found. This probably stands for *dharma* or *dramma* (from Greek *drachma*), the latter being a coin denomination of foreign origin.

On coins of Class 5 appears *Bhānuva* or *Bhānuvasya,* sometimes preceded by an additional word *rājño.* Bhānuva is probably the name of a person, the full name, according to Allan,[67] being Bhānuvarmā. The additional word *rājño* suggests that Bhānuva or Bhānuvarmā was a king of the Yaudheyas. The legend *Yaudheyānāṁ*, restored by Allan[68] on a unique square copper piece, shows that the coin was struck by the Yaudheya tribe.

The next legend to be considered is *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* (*ḥ*). Occurring on several copper coins, mostly well-made, this legend is clearly indicative of the fact that the tribe had a *gaṇa* form of government. The coins bearing this legend are of a late date, approximately of the third-fourth century A. D. On some specimens occurs the conjunct letter *dvi* or *tṛi*, apparently abbreviations of *dvitīyasya* or *tṛitīyasya*, in addition to the legend. Considering Johiyas to be the successors of the Yaudheyas of old days, Cunningham[69] suggested that like the three-fold divisions of the Johiyas, viz. Lakvira, Madhera and Admera, the Yaudheyas were also similarly divided into three clans or sections and the *dvi* and *tṛi*, i.e. *dvitīyasya* and *tṛitīyasya*, of the coins refer to those second and third divisions of the tribe. On the analogy of a modern tribe in the Chamba valley with an institution recognising the division of the tribe into sections or clans, each vested with the right to elect in turn to chiefs, who derive their power wholly from the popular vote, Smith[70] suggested "that the Yaudheyas may have been similarly divided into three sections each of which in turn elected the tribal chiefs". Altekar[71] holds that the Yaudheyas in alliance with the Kuṇindas and the Ārjunāyanas formed a confederacy in C. A. D. 200 against the Kushāṇas and the letters *dvi* and *tṛi* refer respectively to the second and third confederating units of this political union. It should be noted that the coins in question are few in number which may signify that their issue was a limited one, probably indicating a period of uncertainty in the political history of the *gaṇa*. It may be supposed that *dvi* and *tṛi* refer to the second and third republics of the Yaudheyas themselves rather than the confederating units of the tribe. There is also no independent or direct evidence that the confederating units, if there had been any, lost their entity, since the whole republic was still called *Yaudheyagaṇa*. It may be of special importance to note here that *tṛi*, as compared to *dvi*, occurs on a still lesser number of coins, but to infer from this comparative scarcity of coins with the letter *tṛi* that the third republic "had the shortest duration of existence eventually succumbing to the rule of Samudragupta" will be going too far.[72] There is no evidence to show that the Yaudheyas ceased to exist as a republic during the reign of Samudragupta.

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[65] Rapson (see *JRAS*, 1903, p. 291) and after him Smith (see *CCIM*, p. 165) wrongly interpreted Brahmaṇyadeva as the name of a Yaudheya king. It was J. N. Banerjea who first suggested that the coins bearing this legend as well as the unique silver coin bearing a slightly different legend were actually issued in the name of the war-god Kārttikeya who happened to be the spiritual as well as temporal ruler of the Yaudheyas, probably in their times of stress and tribulation, *DHI* (first edition), pp. 156-57; also *JNSI*, XIII, p. 160f.

[66] *ASI*, AR, 1911-12, p. 51. Mirashi translates it thus : 'the king (i.e. Gautamīputra) believed that he had obtained his kingdom by the grace of the great Lord Mahāsena (Kārttikeya)', *IHQ*, XXVI, p. 145. Both these interpretations are equally plausible. For recent examples of quasi-theocracy, see p. 99, fn. 45.

[67] *Op. cit.*, p. cl. [68] *Ibid.*

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[69] *CAGI*, pp. 280-81. Elsewhere Cunningham observes: "...the coins of the Yaudheyas show that they were divided into three tribes, and as *Vagar* means a 'warrior' it is possible that the three tribes may have been called *sam-vāgri* or the 'united Vagars", *CAI*, p. 76. According to Cunningham, the three warrior tribes of Johiyas, Bagris and Bhatis may represent the divisions of the Yaudheyas or *Saṁvāgris*, *ibid.*

[70] *IA*, XXXV, p. 291. The information about this tribal organisation was furnished by E. H. Walsh in a paper read at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Smith regards this type of constitution as of Tibetan origin, *ibid.*, p. 290.

[71] See *VGA*, pp. 26, 29-30, 246.

[72] For such a view, see *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 139.

On coins of Class 8 appear *Rāvaṇa* or *Rāvaṇasya.* The coins are attributed to the Yaudheyas on account of their provenance and general typological resemblance to the Yaudheya coinage. But the name *Rāvaṇa* is hitherto unknown in ancient Indian history and numismatics. Like Bhānuva or Bhānuvarmā, Rāvaṇa also seems to be a Yaudheya chief or king.

INTERPRETATION OF DEVICES AND SYMBOLS

Coins of the Yaudheyas reveal many devices and symbols, the most important of which consist of the figures of a god and a goddess, both being endowed with either six heads or one head. The next divinity is found with his emblem, a *triśūla.* Birds and animals, mostly associated with such divinities, also make their appearance on coins. They are cock, peacock, bull, deer, horse and ass (or mule ?). Leopard has been noticed on a coin, which on account of being mutilated, has been tentatively ascribed to the Yaudheyas. Tree within railing, arched symbol (generally six-arched), flower with vase, conch-shell, so-called Ujjain symbol, etc. are not uncommon on Yaudheya coins. As these symbols have been discussed in connection with other tribal coinages, it is needless to repeat them. Attention may, therefore, be confined to the divinities and some of the characteristic animals and emblems connected with them.

(*i*) *Standing male figure* : On a large number of Yaudheya coins appears a standing male figure which is either endowed with six heads or with one head; where polycephalous, the heads are usually arranged in two rows of three each, all of them generally being characterised by crests of matted locks. On some occasions one head is depicted at the centre and the remaining five are shown around the main head (cf. Class III, Variety A ; a few coins in the Jhajjar Museum, Rohtak[73]), and hence Allan's description of the figure of Skanda with a radiating head (*supra, N. B.*, p. 204) is wrong ; in the said halo of the head are traceable the five remaining heads. Mention may be made in this connection of two early mediaeval sculptures portraying Kārttikeya in both ways, as noted above.[74] The first one, a bronze statue, probably coming from the Chamba region (now on display in the National Museum), depicts the central head with the five subsidiary heads in a circle on the halo. The second sculpture recovered at Avantipura (Kashmir) is of Ardhanārīśvara accompanied by a miniature figure of Kārttikeya; the six heads of the latter are arranged in two rows, three in each, as on the Yaudheya coins. The figure on the Yaudheya issues is generally represented as holding a long spear in his right hand, the left hand resting on hip. The six heads of the god are reminiscent of the *shaḍānana* or *shaṇmukha* of the Hindu war-god Kārttikeya,[74a] while the long spear is *śakti* (sometimes bound with fillet), his characteristic emblem. The identification of this six-headed deity with Kārttikeya is confirmed by the use of his two names, *Brahmaṇya* and *Kumāra*, which are found in the accompanying coin-legends. The celebrated martial tribe (*āyudhajīvī*) like the Yaudheyas thus fittingly adopted as their coin-device the effigy of Kārttikeya, who was made the commander of the divine forces, as goes the Epic story.[75] As has already been mentioned, the tradition of Rohītaka (i.e. Rohtak), the seat of the Yaudheyas, as the favourite resort of Kārttikeya is also echoed in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*supra*, fn. 45). Thus coins of the Yaudheyas prove beyond doubt that this god was venerated by them. And at a certain stage of their history the Yaudheyas went a step further by dedicating their State to Kārttikeya. Specific mention should be made of the fact that the figure of Kārttikeya on some coins of the devotees of the god is markedly a spirited one and worthy of the representation of a war-god (*CN 128b*).

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[73] See *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. 2, p. 20.

[74] For the bronze statue, see *JNSI*, XXIX, 1, p. 41 and *East and West* (New Series) XVIII, nos. 3-4, 1968, p. 319, fig. 1 ; for the second example, see *ASI*, AR, 1913-14, p. 53, Pl. 28f.

(*ii*) *Cock and Peacock*: The bird that appears on a class of Yaudheya coins is in most cases a peacock, while on a few specimens the presence of a cock may be doubted. Thus a cock-crested standard may be traced on a coin published in *JNSI*, II, Pl. X, 25. Both cock and peacock are, however, associated with Kārttikeya. As for example, the *Mahābhārata* in one place[76] relates that Agni presented to Kārttikeya a cock, while in other[77] it states that Garuḍa offered him a peacock. The close connection of the latter bird with the god is apparent from his appellation *Mayūraketu* mentioned in the same Epic.[77a] Indian art and archaeology also well answer to this traditional association of cock and peacock with Kārttikeya.[78]

[74a] Mythology says that the god was born with six faces and sucked all his mothers, the six Kṛittikās, at one and the same time.

[75] *Mahābhārata*, III. 218. 21-22; IX. 44. 18-20.

[76] III. 218. 32.

[77] IX. 45. 46.

[77a] III. 195. 3 (Siddhantavagisa edition). The absence of any appellation like *kukkuṭadhvaja* in this Epic list of Kārttikeya's several names is noteworthy.

(*iii*) *Standing female figure*: While on the unique silver coin (Class 3, Variety A) as well as on copper coins (Class 3, Varieties F, G, etc.) the female figure is definitely polycephalous,[79] that on the copper issues of Class 7 is one-headed. Following Allan[80] J. N. Banerjea[81] has described the figure as that of Lakshmī, but V. S. Agrawala[82] favours the identification of the deity with Shashṭhī, same as Devasenā, on the strength of the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* (chapter on 'Bālagrahachikitsā'). Recently one scholar[83] has suggested that the six-headed female figure is identical with Kṛittikā, a combined form of six Kṛittikās, the mother of Skanda-Kārttikeya. This identification, however ingenious, does not carry much conviction, since the author has failed to cite an instance depicting son with mother, either on human or on divine level, in its support. In fact, there is no textual description nor any plastic representation of one Kṛittikā alone or of any composite form of six Kṛittikās. A few sculptures[84] depicting a six-headed goddess, on the other hand, are illustrative of the concept of Shaṇmukhī Shashṭhī or Devasenā, who is variantly described as Lakshmī, Āśā, Sinīvālī, etc. in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 218. 47). According to the *Mahābhārata*[85] Devasenā was given in marriage to Skanda and hence the god is sometimes described as *Devasenāpriyaḥ*[86] (i.e. 'beloved of Devasenā') and sometimes as *Shasṭhīpriyaḥ*[87] (i.e. beloved of Shashṭhī). Thus it is more than certain that the one-headed or six-headed female figure is that of Shashṭhī or Devasenā, the consort of Kārttikeya. Incidentally, her posture is reminiscent of that of Mao, Mihira and Helios on the Kushāṇa coins (cf. *CCPM*, Pl. XVII, 147, *CCSKBM*, Pl. XVII, nos. 3, 4, 10). On some specimens the delineation of the goddess is marked with an admirable clarity of expression (*CN 128, 129*).

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[78] See *DHI*, pp. 141-46, 199-200. Also *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937, p. 129 and *ASI*, AR, 1913-14, p. 125, Pl. XLVII, 271. As regards peacock, it may be mentioned that in Greek religion it was associated with Hera and was kept in her temple. Peacock is also a totem of the Jats and Khandhs, see *ERE*, I, p. 524.

[79] Cunningham correctly described the figure as six-headed, *CAI*, p. 78. Prayag Dayal also noticed the figure of this six-headed goddess in his Dehra Dun finds, *JNSI*, II, p. 10. If Kārttikeya on the obverse of a British Museum piece is six-headed (*supra*, *N. B.* p. 204), Devasenā on its reverse will also be endowed with a similar number of heads

[80] *Op. cit.*; p. cli.

[81] *Op. cit.*, p. 143. Kala also follows Allan and Banerjea, *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 47.

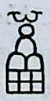
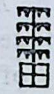
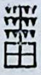
[82] Agrawala could not cite any textual authority when he first pronounced his identification in *JNSI*, V, p. 30. Later, however, he produced the evidence of the *Kāśyapa Saṁhita* thus establishing his case ably. See his *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Lokadharma* in Hindi (Varanasi, 1964), p. 64 and *Ancient Indian Folk Cults* (Varanasi, 1970), p. 93f.

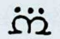
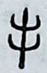
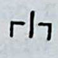
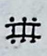
[83] D. Pandey in *JNSI*, XXIX, 1, p. 5f.

[84] *East and West*, XXI, nos. 3-4, 1971. p. 325f, figs. 1-4.

[85] III. 218. 46.

[86] III. 195. 8 (Siddhantavagisa edition; BORI edition, vol. 4, p. 1076).

The remaining symbols and devices are well known. Thus the standing male figure with a *triśūla* is manifestly Śiva and in the coinage where his son Kārttikeya takes a prominent place, his presence is but a natural one. The one-headed figure with a spear is Kārttikeya, though he is generally represented with six heads. On some coins appears a bull which must be Nandi, if the male figure with which it is accompanied represents Śiva. Among other animals deer, as in the case of the Kuṇinda coinage, deserves mention. It may be assumed that both the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas probably adopted it as a theriomorphic representation of Lakshmī, the goddess of fortune (*supra*, p. 101). In this connection mention may be made of the numismatic kinship of the Yaudheya and Kuṇinda issues which is established by the use of some more common symbols like   (or ) 卐 and : The animal on the obverse of an Indian Museum specimen (*CN 111*), for example, is almost definitely a horse as is shown by its equinine muzzle and hoofs as well as by its bushy tail. On a unique specimen occurs the figure of an animal which Dayal identifies as an ass (*JNSI*, II, p. 112), but which is probably a mule,[88] so useful in the hilly regions of Garhwal, included in their territory. The reason of the appearance of a leopard on another coin may also lie in its familiarity in the land of the Yaudheyas.

Among other symbols, as pointed out above, tree within railing, the *yūpa*, the arched symbol, the so-called Nāga and Ujjain symbols, vase with flower, trident with battle-axe, etc. are quite common on ancient Indian coins. The tree within railing is sometimes found to be exactly alike the one met with on the Kuṇinda coins and the symbol may be described as *Indradhvajasampat* (*supra*, p. 102) rather than the conventional tree symbol. The so-called Nāga symbol, i.e. 'two S-s with a straight line between' (common variety of the symbol is , the other variety being) which may be taken as a variety of *śrīvatsa* (see p. 101), occurs on coins bearing *tṛi*. Another symbol  , described by Allan as 'inverted *triśūl*' (*CCBM*, p. 277), occurs on coins with *dvi*. The symbol should better be described as an 'inverted *nandipada*'. Both and have been taken by S. K. Chakrabortty[89] as "mint-marks of the two sections of the Yaudheya tribe" (i.e. sections 2 and 3). The vase with a flower, conch shell, *nandipada* and *svastika*, most probably bear some religious significance. The vase with a flower, an auspicious symbol, used prominently by the Mālavas, occurs on coins with *dvi*. The conch shell,[90] specially sacred to Vishṇu, which is sounded on all auspicious occasions, is found on coins with *tṛi*. The other two symbols, *nandipada* and *svastika*, appear to be popular and are seen on a large number of coins. The described as *vardhamāna* sign (*supra*, p. 102), bull before *yūpa*, interpreted as indicating *śūlagava* sacrifice (*supra*, p. 24) and the six-arched symbol (sometimes three-arched) are present on certain Yaudheya coins. The trident with battle-axe occurs on some Audumbara pieces (*supra*, pp. 45, 47, etc.). Of the astronomical signs the radiate sun or star appears on some coins. Symbols like  ,  and  are difficult to explain. The last one may be described as a ladder symbol.

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[87] III. 195.6 (Siddhantavagisa edition ; BORI edition, *ibid*).

[88] Allan refers to the presence of a mule on a British Museum specimen (*CCBM*, p. cli), but the available reproduction does not show the figure of the animal. This may be due to a wrong photograph.

POLITICAL CONDITION AND ORGANISATION OF THE YAUDHEYAS

The antiquity of the Yaudheyas goes back at least to the days of Pāṇini. But no definite idea can be formed about their history for some centuries. Their earliest coinage may be placed in the second-first century B. C. making their rise as an independent political power. If in agreement with Jayaswal's theory that the republic to the east of the Beas not named by Arrian is identified with the

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[89] *NS*, XLVI, p. 64.

[90] It also appears on some Sātavāhana coins, *CCBM*, AWK, etc., p. 237.

Yaudheya country, they will appear to have been living in the Punjab in the second half of the fourth century B. C. The Yaudheyas, described by Pāṇini as a people subsisting by profession of arms, were apparently not strong enough to resist the Mauryas whose empire included, *inter alia*, the present-day Punjab and Haryana. So long the Maurya hegemony was in existence, the Yaudheyas and their neighbours could not enjoy any political freedom. After the fall of the Mauryas the Yaudheyas and several other tribes appear to have regained their independence in the second century B. C. as numismatic evidence shows.

When the Kushāṇas came to India and established themselves on a solid footing, the Yaudheyas may be supposed to have succumbed to their might. It cannot be imagined how it was possible in any way for them to rule independently during the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka, for there is no coinage of the Yaudheyas in this period. Coins belonging to Classes 3 and 4 usually assigned to the second century A. D. show that either in the time of Vāsudeva I (probably towards the end of his reign), whose last known date is 98, i.e. A. D. 175-76, or shortly after him the Yaudheyas were in a position to reassert their independence. Coins of Class 7 continue to betray Kushāṇa influence in style and types up to the third-fourth century A. D. The Yaudheyas may have been prevented from exercising their independent power by various factors including the rise of Gupta imperialism. On the other hand they had to acknowledge the paramountcy of the Guptas by about the middle of the fourth century A. D., as the Allahabad pillar inscription shows. The coinage of the Yaudheyas ceases after the fourth century A. D.

The Yaudheyas appear to have been one of the most prominent tribes of ancient India enjoying wide reputation for their prowess. The Junagadh inscription of the year 72 (=A. D. 150) acknowledges that their pre-eminence as a valorous people amongst the Kshatriyas was well-established, though as the inscription states, they suffered a defeat at the hands of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. This Śaka victory may have meant only a temporary eclipse of their power, for the Bijaygadh and the Agroha inscriptions bear testimony to their existence as an independent state under the headship of a *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati* in about the third century A. D.

An exaggerated estimate is sometimes made by scholars[91] about the extent of the territory of the Yaudheyas as well as their contribution to the downfall of the Kushāṇas. No doubt the reappearance of the Yaudheyas after a period of obscurity is almost synchronous with the decline of the imperial Kushāṇa power. This decline accelerated by various factors may have given a suitable opportunity to the Yaudheyas to strike a blow at the tottering Kushāṇa empire.

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[91] Altekar, *VGA*, pp. 25-26.

It is not unlikely that the Yaudheyas and other tribes like the Kuṇindas and Ārjunāyanas instead of fighting against the Kushāṇas and their satellites individually in an isolated manner joined a common movement of liberation so that its pressure on the enemy could be most effective in winning back their freedom. These tribes could not have any history after the glorious days of the Kushāṇas unless they had fought successfully making themselves free from the bondage of foreign domination. It may be said with a fair degree of certainty that circumstances were beginning to be propitious for the revival of their independence when the Kushāṇa empire was hastening to its disintegration, but there is hardly any evidence to show that the Yaudheyas were 'the political successors of the Kushāṇas' and the fall of the Kushāṇas itself was brought about by the Yaudheyas or by the organisation of a common resistance against the enemy under their leadership.

What appears to be probable is that the Yaudheyas were a migratory tribe like the Śibis, Mālavas and others forming settlements over a wide tract of land. P. L. Gupta suggests that the Yaudheyas occupied different portions of an extensive region at different stages of their history. According to him[92] the Yaudheyas in the second and first century B. C. were in occupation of the Bahudhānyaka country (the present-day Haryana State) when they issued coins with the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake*. Thereafter being pressed by the foreign invaders, most probably the Indo-Greeks, they left the Haryana country and at stages spread over the north-eastern as well as north-western parts of Rajasthan sometime in the second-third century A. D. During this period they earned a reputation as the best heroes, but sometime after A. D. 150 they had to bow before Rudradāman, as stated by his Junagadh inscription.[93] In the third century A. D., the period of the coins with the legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*, the Yaudheyas moved to the west and occupied the territory between the upper courses of the Sutlej and the Beas.[94] And thus Gupta[95] concludes that "the Yaudheyas never occupied at one and the same time the vast territories that had so far been attributed to them". Sceptical about the view that the legend *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya* is suggestive of a Yaudheya victory over the Kushāṇas,

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[92] *JUPHS*, XXIII, p. 171.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 174. [95] *Ibid.*

Gupta[96] further asserts that "under no circumstances they could have taken up arms against the Kushāṇas of Mathura", and if at all they are believed to have inflicted a defeat on the Kushāṇas, they did so "only when the Kushāṇas were receding from the Punjab to the north-west". According to him[97] the Yaudheyas were living in the third-fourth century A. D. in the Kangra valley surrounding Ludhiana above the courses of the Sutlej and Beas and ultimately succumbed to the Gupta imperialism sometime in the middle of the fourth century A. D.

Though there may not be any serious controversy about the limits of the region within which the Yaudheyas flourished in the course of their history, no positive assertion can be made regarding the stages and manner of their movement under the pressure of foreign attacks on the lines suggested by Gupta, since the contemporary history of the affected areas is not so definitely known.

Regarding the political organisation of the Yaudheyas, Altekar[98] holds the view that they built up a confederation with the Kuṇindas and Ārjunāyanas as important units, with its foreign policy and army placed in the charge of a council formed by presidents of the three constituent republics elected by the respective federating units. All this is pure hypothesis unsupported by any positive evidence. No doubt, the Bijaygadh inscription and a recently discovered Agroha seal[99] speak of a *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati* (the seal adds *Mahākshatrapa* to it) as the head of the Yaudheya republic (*Yaudheya-gaṇa-puraskṛita*), but there is nothing to show that the same office was held by the other leaders of the supposed confederating units. Besides, it is not certain whether the Kuṇindas and Ārjunāyanas had at all joined the Yaudheyas to form a confederacy. So far as the organisation of the Yaudheya state is concerned, the use of the title *Mahārāja*, as shown by epigraphical, numismatic and glyptic evidence, may indicate that the tribe (at least a section of them) temporarily drifted towards a type of government in which power practically became vested in a single ruler with absolute control over the army, probably a modified form of monarchy and that their office of *Mahārāja-Mahāsenāpati* or *Senāpati* temporarily became hereditary, election being a formality.

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[96] *Ibid.* [97] *Ibid.*

[98] *VGA*, pp. 30, 246. Altekar draws support from the Epic which indicates Bahudhānyaka, Marubhūmi and Śirīshaka as three centres of the Yaudheyas, *JNSI*, XI, p. 52. Śirīshaka is modern Sirsa in the Hissar district.

[99] *JNSI*, XXXII, pt. 2, p. 154f. P. L. Gupta translates the Brāhmī legend as follows: "(The seal) of one who is appointed by (*puraskṛita*) Yaudheya *gaṇa*, of one who was adopted (*gṛīhīta*) by *Mahārāja Mahākshatrapa Mahāsenāpati* Indramitra; of one who was Mahārāja Mahakshatrapa, Senāpati and Apratihata-śāsana; and of Dharmamitra Nandavarman," *ibid.*, p. 157. If the seal is a genuine one, it would signify that the successor for the Yaudheya kingdom was nominated by the ruling head of the Yaudheya *gaṇa* and his nomination was approved (*puraskṛita*) by the *gaṇa*; it would further show that *Mahārāja* (the head of the tribe) was also *Mahākshatrapa* and *Mahāsenāpati* or *Senāpati*. The assumption of the *Mahākshatrapa* title was inspired by the contacts of the Yaudheyas with the Śakas and Kushāṇas and this seems to have taken place after the dissolution of the Kushāṇa empire. The name Nandavarman reminds us of Bhānuvarman, the issuer of coins of Class 5. Incidentally, P. L. Gupta's remark that *Nandāvarmaṇah* of the legend is not in genitive (*ibid.*, p. 156), but in nominative, is obviously wrong.

The institution of such offices may not have led to the complete abolition of the republican constitution (*gaṇa*) of the Yaudheyas, though its character was necessarily changed when large powers came to be concentrated in a single hand. It is not known how far the head of the republic was subject to any kind of constitutional control in the changed circumstances. The coins of the Yaudheyas on which the word *gaṇa* occurs are assignable to the third-fourth century A. D. Thus in the time of Samudragupta, to whose supremacy they submitted along with the Mālavas, Madrakas and other such tribes, they called themselves a *gaṇa*, though some monarchical traits seem to have already been developed in their ancient constitution.

It may be relevant to refer again in this connection to the coins with *dvi* and *tṛi*. Smith has attempted to explain their meaning on the basis of the information furnished by Walsh about the type of constitution prevailing among a modern tribe of the Chamba valley, which may be described in some detail here. Under this constitution "the tribe is divided into two halves, each of which has the right in turn to appoint two chiefs holding office for three years. When the time of election draws near, each village appoints electors, who meet and select the two men considered most suitable. The election takes place in the fourth month. The initiation or consecration of the new chiefs is performed in the seventh month. The tribe then assembles before an altar on which a yak is sacrificed, and the chiefs swear to do their duty. They then assume charge, and dispose of all judicial and other business pertaining to their office, while their predecessors retire into private life".[100] Pointing to the division of the tribe into two sections or clans, each vested with the right to elect in turn two chiefs, Smith[101] suggests that the Yaudheyas may have been similarly divided into three sections each of which in turn elected the tribal chiefs. Supposing the 'kingless nations' like the Mālavas, Kuṇindas, Ārjunāyanas, etc. as belonging to 'the older Mongolian stratum of the

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[100] *IA*, XXXV, p. 290f.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Indian population which entered India from the north-east', Smith[102] further suggests that such a type of constitution may have been of Tibetan origin,[103] though he is not dogmatic about his theory in view of the fact that it is "impossible to compare the old institutions in India proper with the full description of the existing Tibetan arrangements". It may be concluded that *dvi* and *tṛi* are connected with the *gaṇa* denoting a system of administrative or tribal divisions within the Yaudheya country.

One important feature of the Yaudheya constitution was the dedication of the State to the war-god Kārttikeya, which judging from numismatic evidence first made its appearance in the second-third century A. D. As has been noted before, the Kuṇindas also, like the Yaudheyas, gave a theocratic appearance to their constitution by dedicating their State to their presiding deity, Chhatreśvara Śiva. Quasi-theoracy, as it may be called, appeared to be a legacy of the Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas in later days.

LAST DAYS OF THE YAUDHEYAS

No definite information is available about the political career of the Yaudheyas after Samudragupta's reign, though their name was not soon lost in oblivion. Cunningham[104] holds that the name of the Yaudheyas survives in the Johiyas of Bahawalpur and that of the tract "on both banks of the Satlej, and the lower Doab between the Satlej", known as *Johiyabar* which must have comprised at least part of the area dominated by the Yaudheyas of ancient times. The Johiya habitat perhaps extended still more, up to Kohistan *taluq* of the Karachi district (Pakistan), where a section of the Johiyas used to live until recently under their own chief known as the *Johiya-jo-jam*; and contextually no less interesting is the discovery of an extensive cemetary of the Johiya *jams* near Landhi in the Karachi district.[105] However, if the ancestry of the Johiya Rajputs can be traced to the Yaudheya Kshatriyas whose memory is enshrined in ancient history and tradition, the remark of Rapson[106] that the Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and Mālavas furnish "examples of early Rajput states" with the word *Rajput* used in an extended sense, will deserve more than a passing mention, opening up a vista for further research, though lack of material for a satisfactory solution of the problem raised is a serious handicap.

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[102] *Ibid.*

[103] Mention may be made of Scafer's attempt to derive *Yaudheya* from a Tibeto-Burmic **Yau-del*. See his *Ethnography of India*, pp. 50-51. The suggestion of Scafer is, however, fanciful. Equally untenable is the view of Buddha Prakash seeking to connect the Yautiyas of Laristan with the Yaudheyas, *PSMAP*, p. 106f. Phonetic similarity in two names alone cannot be any reasonable basis for their connection.

[104] *CAI*, p. 76. Also *CAGI*, pp. 280-81.

[105] See *ASI*, Progress Report, Western Circle, 1920, p. 79, Pl. VIII.

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[106] *CHI*, I, p. 528.

CHAPTER 15

CONCLUDING REMARKS

WE ARE at the journey's end. The ups and downs of some of the ancient tribes of Northern India, who issued coins, surveyed in the preceding pages, tend to show a predominant feature of Indian history : the operation of a corporate spirit guided by an essentially local outlook. Indeed, Indians have always evinced a general disinclination to centralised form of government. Their insistence is rather on local autonomy.[1]

This is not an unnatural phenomenon in a vast country like India, the ancient *Bhāratavarsha*, inhabited by races of diverse tastes and outlooks and hopes and aspirations. While there was always a sense of cultural unity among the peoples of ancient India, political unity was possible only under exceptionally strong monarchs like Chandragupta and Aśoka.

The mighty imperial fabric set up by Chandragupta Maurya (324-300 B. C.) and enlarged and reared up by the genius of Aśoka (269-32 B. C.) crumbled within fifty years of the death of the latter. Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the assassinator of Maurya Bṛihadratha and the founder of a new line, came to power sometime about 185 B. C. and took over what was left of the great empire. A monarch of eminence, Pushyamitra attempted with some amount of success to check foreign inroads. But he seems to have failed to prove himself the master of a far-flung empire like that of Aśoka. It is doubtful even if the different parts of his dominions were ruled with as much authority from the centre as had been exercised in the preceding era. The preference for a local or regional autonomy must have been strong enough to counteract every move that may have been made after the Mauryas to build up and stabilise any kind of imperial organisation. The condition became worse after the passing away of Pushyamitra when, as contemporary evidences show, northern India turned to be a congeries of states like Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Magadha and a host of others. The rise and continuance of these states may be placed in the period extending from circa 150 B. C. to 72 B. C., the latter date being that of the termination of the Śuṅga dynasty. It was during this period that a number of tribes, who having no opportunity to flourish independently during the Maurya epoch, came out of their grooves and restored themselves to their former position. Geographically, most of them flourished in the Punjab, a region which "throughout the historic age, from the Vedic times to our day...has offered a protected shelter to the native tribes menaced or pursued by the conquering foreigners".[2]

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[1] It seems that the segmentation of the Punjab into two states, the division of Assam into as many as six states, the popularity of a provincial party like the DMK in Tamilnadu, the agitation for a separate Andhra and a general tendency among the states to become politically more autonomous to accept the advice of the centre, among other phenomena, stem from a consciousness not unidentical with that of the tribal peoples of ancient India.

A careful perusal of the Classical accounts shows beyond doubt that there existed a number of tribes in the Punjab in the time of Alexander's invasion, and interestingly enough, some of them were 'kingless tribes'.[3] The Malloi, the Mālavas of Indian sources, is an illustration on the point, who were, in the words of Classical writers, 'a race of independent Indians'; and whose stubborn resistance to the Macedonian hero elicited their praise and admiration. Thus before the emergence of the Mauryas, there existed in the Punjab, and obviously in other parts of India too, a host of independent tribes. As Indian authorities like Pāṇini and Kauṭilya show, some of them lived by profession of arms and formed confederacies (*āyudhajīvī saṁgha* or *śastropajīvī*), as for example, the Trigartas and the Yaudheyas. Presumably such military tribes weilded their sword and buckler not only for maintaining their own liberty but also perhaps for helping others as mercenaries, if not as allies.

Lack of a strong and stable government after Pushyamitra Śuṅga resulted in turmoil and confusion in northern India. The Greeks had already measured their swords with the Indians in the time of the celebrated Śuṅga monarch. From the second half of the first century B. C. to the middle of the first century A. D. north and north-western parts of India provided a rich field to the foreigners like the Indo-Greeks, Scythians and Parthians for the satisfaction of their political ambitions. It was in this welter that our tribes succeeded in maintaining themselves somehow, diplomatically or militarily, in their hard struggle for existence, details of which are not available. They lived in the Punjab as long as they found it possible to do so. While the Uddehikas were from the beginning a tribe living in Rajasthan, the Mālavas and Śibis were driven by circumstances from their early habitats in search of new homes and eventually settled in Rajasthan. The few coins of the Aśvakas are comparatively early. This tribe appears to have merged with a stronger one or perhaps dwindled in importance. Attempt has been made by W. W. Tarn[4] to show that the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas and others were subjugated by Menander, but as stated before (pp. 65-66), there is hardly any solid basis for this theory. Numismatic and other evidences rather point to their independent existence.

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[2] Vivien de Saint Martin, quoted by Przyluski, *APP*, p. 35.

[3] McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, pp. 143-44, 156.

Though the tribes succeeded in maintaining their independence against the Indo-Greeks, they had to bow before the Kushāṇas. The Mālavas and Yaudheyas had suffered reverses at the hands of the Śakas. The establishment of the Kushāṇa supremacy over a major portion of northern India necessarily resulted in a temporary eclipse of the fortunes of the tribes. Practically no tribal coinage can be assigned with certainty to the palmy days of Kushāṇa domination, covering almost a century, from about the middle of the first century A. D. to about the middle of the second century A. D. Towards the close of the second century A. D. they were gaining strength and were preparing to deal with the comparatively weak successors of Kaniskha and Huvishka. Though an exaggerated credit has been given by Altekar[5] to the Yaudheyas for their victory over the Kushāṇas, there seems to be little doubt that the Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas, Ārjunāyanas and others fought against the Kushāṇas who had already become weak due to Sassanian attacks. From about the last quarter of the second century A. D. to at least about the middle of the fourth century A. D. the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas and others flourished, as is indicated by the Allahabad pillar inscription. They acknowledged the supremacy of Samudragupta, but their autonomy was not affected. Nevertheless, the rise of Gupta imperialism must have weakened the tribes. Some of them like the Agras, Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Vemakas, Vṛishṇis, etc. seem to have already merged with other tribes or dwindled in importance as they have not left any independent coinage attributable to the third-fourth century A. D. Those like the Ārjunāyanas, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas and others who survived the onslaughts of the Kushāṇas maintained their independent existence till the fourth century A. D. and ultimately lost their political importance and were heard no more.[5a] These tribal elements fused into the growing social organisation of the Hindus giving rise to new sub-castes, such as the Agrawal, Admera, Malavya and Johiya.

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[4] *GBI*, pp. 238-40.

[5] *VGA*, pp. 25-26.

[5a] B. P. Mazumdar thinks that apart from Gupta imperialism, the migrating nature of the people of Mālava and Yaudheya sapped their vitality and ultimately contributed to the change in the pattern of government. *Journal of Indian History*, XLVII, pt. 2, p. 311.

It is interesting to study not only the reactions of these ancient tribes of India to the political domination of outsiders but also the manner of their response to the market conditions created by the introduction of developed currencies under foreign rulers. Some of the tribes like the Ārjunāyanas, Aśvakas, Kulūtas, Rājanyas, Śibis, Trigartas and Uddehikas based their coinage exclusively on copper. The Audumbaras, Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas adhered to bimetallism. While one silver coin definitely belongs to the Vemakas, the Vṛishṇis are represented by a singular coin, a unique silver piece. It is, therefore, highly probable that these two tribes issued copper coins also ; in fact, one copper coin, now in the British Museum, has been assigned with a great amount of certainty to the Vemakas. However, it appears that in the period extending from the first century B. C. to the second century A. D. silver was used for currency purposes. The silver coins of the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas and others were not issued without any purpose behind it. As for the Kuṇinda silver coins, Allan rightly surmises that they were issued to compete in the market with the Indo-Greek silver. What is true about the Kuṇindas, seems to be applicable to other tribes. It was with an eye to compete with foreign silver coins that they appear to have issued silver coins based on foreign standards. And when there was no longer any question of competition, the tribes fell off from silver, as no tribal coin struck on silver belonging to the third and fourth century A. D. has been discovered as yet. The tribal states were not rich enough to issue gold coins in imitation of the Kushāṇas and the Imperial Guptas. As to the cause of the cessation of the silver coinage by these tribes after the second century A. D., it has been suggested that "the continuance of silver was a great hindrance and added an element of complexity to the merchants and others who had monetary transactions outside the individual tribal areas."[6] Thus dropping silver the tribes reverted to the older practice of issuing copper and in doing so probably found no difficulty in exchanging their copper issues with those of the Kushāṇas and Guptas or even linking them up with the currencies of two Imperial powers by a system of bimetallism.

The tribes are generally known as 'republicans'. A survey of their history shows that no attempt was made to form monarchy of a centralised type. If the Classical writers are to be relied upon, in the fourth century B. C. non-monarchical forms of government were not uncommon in the Punjab. As the testimony of coins shows, our tribes were non-monarchical in their system of government. The significance of the word *gaṇa* occurring on the coins of the Mālavas and Yaudheyas can be explained with the help of the *Avadānaśataka*[7] of the early Christian era which uses the word *gaṇa* as distinguished from *rājā* : *kechid-deśā gaṇ-ādhiṇā(ḥ) kechid rāj-ādhīnāḥ*. Not only the territories of the Mālavas and Yaudheyas are to be included as non-monarchical ones, but the other tribes also may be believed to have followed a republican constitution. Names of tribes are conspicuous by their presence on the coins issued by them, sometimes accompanied by the word *janapada* which is used in a territorial sense. Even when names of individuals occur on coins, as for example, Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha, Vijayamitra, Amoghabhūti, Sūryamitra, etc., they are accompanied by names of the tribes to which they respectively belonged.[8] The title *rājā* or *mahārājā* given to Vīrayaśas or Amoghabhūti need not be taken in the strictly literal sense and it appears to be an honorific designation of the tribal chiefs like those assumed by Śākya and Lichchhavi chiefs in earlier days. The mention of a hereditary line of Mālava rulers in the Nandsa record need not necessarily indicate a definite form of monarchy. It is not unlikely that if there was a change in the government it was of the nature of a hereditary principle being established in the order of succession to leadership in a polity which in spite of the modification may have still remained basically republican. Another feature introduced by some of the tribes like the Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas is met with in the custom of dedicating states to the gods worshipped by them. And such quasi-theocracy appears to be one of the contributions of our tribal peoples to Indian polity in subsequent days.[9]

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[6] S. K. Chakrabortty, *NS*, XLVI, p. 41.

It may be reasonable to conclude that in a non-monarchical tribal government the political organisation was generally controlled by a single chief or a select body of chiefs acting in the name of the tribe. On a few occasions, as in that of the Mālavas, the chiefs seem to have assumed a hereditary position. In any case, there seems little doubt that the sovereignty instead of being vested in a single individual belonged to the tribe as a whole.

A. L. Basham[10] observes that "modern India may take legitimate pride in the fact that though she may not have had democracies in the modern sense, government by discussion was by no means unknown in her ancient civilisation". It may be fittingly said to the credit of the ancient tribes of the North-West and the Punjab that during their long period of existence, with relatively limited resources, they nurtured and preserved democratic traditions in their constitutions with their freedom often menaced, but rarely suppressed to the point of elimination, against aggressions of monarchies and empires and the machinations of imperialist statesmen and theoreticians.

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[7] *Avadāna* 88, Vaidya's edition, p. 220.

[8] In some cases, however, the name of the tribe does not appear, e.g. on the Chhatreśvara coinage of the Kuṇindas. On some coins of the Uddehikas, viz. those of Sūryamitra, *Sudavapa* occurs in place of the tribal name.

[9] Take for example, the cases of the Gaṅgas of Orissa and Guhilas of Rajasthan in earlier days and that of the Maharajas of Travancore and Cochin in comparatively modern times. See *supra*, p. 99, fn. 45.

[10] *Wonder that was India*, p. 98.

Appendix I

WORDS OF DOUBTFUL TRIBAL SIGNIFICANCE

Kāḍa

SOME CAST copper coins bearing the legend *Kāḍasa* in early Brāhmī characters were recovered by Cunningham.[1] Later, Rodgers and Whitehead came across some more specimens.[2] There is a coin (of Class 2 of the variety B, see below) in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, which has been brought to notice by H. V. Trivedi.[3] Trivedi conjecturally reads the legend appearing on it as *Bhadrasa* and attributes it to the class of Kāḍa coins on the grounds of type and fabric.[4] The accompanying reproduction (*CN 139b*), however, enables us to read it as *Kāḍasa*. Cunningham has not recorded the findspots of these coins, but he has stated that he found one such piece with coins of the Kuṇindas. Most probably the Kāḍa coins point to a Punjab provenance.[5]

The coins under discussion belong to the British Museum.[6] They may be divided into the following classes :

Class 1

Variety A

Obverse : Undulating line. An upturned taurine symbol.
Legend in Brāhmī :
Kāḍasa
Reverse : Elephant to left. (*CN 136*)

Variety B

Obverse : Brāhmī legend only :
Kāḍasa
Reverse : An indistinct object, probably 'kalasa with flowers'. (*CN 137*)

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[1] *CAI*, p. 62, Pls. II, 21, 22 ; V, 6. Cunningham does not describe the coins reproduced in Plate II which he groups with some Taxilian coins.

[2] *CCBM*, p. xcii. [3] *JNSI*, XIX, p. 12, Pl. IV, 3.

[4] According to Trivedi the striker of the said coin "belonged to the family of kings who issued coins in this series", *loc. cit.*

[5] *CCBM*, p. xcii. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46, Pls. XIX, 14-20 ; XLIII, 10, 11.

Class 2

Variety A

Obverse : Undulating line. An upturned taurine symbol.
Legend in Brāhmī :
Kāḍasa.

Reverse : Large rayed circle, very probably sun. (*CN 138*)

Variety B

Obverse : Legend in Brāhmī above :
Kāḍasa.
Upturned taurine symbol. Undulating line below.

Reverse : Rude figure on right holding staff in left hand. Uncertain object on left, probably 'kalasa with flowers'. (*CN 139 a-b*)

Class 3

Obverse : Tree in railing in centre. Uncertain rectangular object on left. On right Brāhmī legend :
Kāḍasa.

Reverse : Large rayed circle.

N.B. Allan takes the side with legend as reverse. Cunningham notices a temple to left surmounted by *tri-ratna* symbol. But what he describes as temple is in fact indistinct.

Class 4

Obverse : Large rayed circle.
Reverse : Horse to right. (*CN 140*)

The above classification of Kāḍa coins is based on differences in regard to the shape and the symbols as well as the arrangement of the latter. The majority of Kāḍa coins are round in shape, while a few are square in shape. Coins belonging to Class 1 are almost square, while the rest belonging to the other classes are round in shape. Coins belonging to Class 4, however, do not bear the legend Kāḍasa, but they seem to belong to the same series by reason of their use of the typical symbol 'rayed circle' which is exactly the same as that appearing on coins of Variety A of Class 2 and those of Class 3. On the reverse of the coins of Class 4 is found the impression of an animal, probably a horse, which does not make its appearance on other coins. But the general fabric and common symbol like the rayed circle tend to attribute the coins of Class 4 to the present series without almost any doubt.

The symbols met with on the Kāḍa coins, consist of undulating line, elephant, large rayed circle, rude figure, horse, upturned taurine symbol, an object probably 'kalasa with flowers' and a *svastika.* All these symbols are not uncommon on ancient Indian coins and significance of most of them has been discussed in connection with different tribal coins. The symbols used in the present case constitute a connecting link between coins of different classes. In the following section an attempt is made to find out the bearing of some of the symbols on the coins under review, if they have any.

A NOTE ON LEGEND AND SYMBOLS

The legend *Kāḍasa*, written in early Brāhmī characters of the latter half of the third century or early second century B. C., shows that it is the genitive of *Kāḍa*. Bühler[7] takes the word *Kāḍa* as equivalent for the Sanskrit *Kāla* and regards it as the name of a king. While Cunningham[8] thinks that *Kāḍa* may have 'some reference to the descendants of the serpents called Kadru' and takes the undulating line as the figure of a snake (of the Kadru family), S. K. Chakrabortty[9] interprets *Kāḍasa* as the name of a place. The latter identifies *Kāḍasa* with Cadrusi or Cadrusia, one of the towns established by Alexander the Great near his Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus which stood 'in the north bank of the Panjshir river'.[10] But all these interpretations are hypothetical in character and nothing can be said about the meaning of the legend definitely unless further evidence of a positive nature is forthcoming. The legend *Kāḍasa*, according to us, may also have a reference to a tribe called Kāḍa, otherwise unknown. And Cunningham is also inclined to regard the legend as invested with a tribal significance (see below).

As regards the symbols appearing on the Kāḍa coins, they are not infrequent on ancient Indian coins. The prominent undulating line may stand for, as has been supposed by S. K. Chakrabortty,[11] a river or a snake. If it is a snake, it may have a probable reference to Kadru, as was held by Cunningham.[12] The elephant and horse are the two specially valued animals, while the taurine symbol and 'kalasa with flowers' have some unexplained significance. The rayed circle is undoubtedly a representation of the sun. The rude standing figure holding a staff is very likely that of a deity, reminding us of a similar figure on a series of copper coins of Ujjayini ; the latter was once identified by Allan[13] with Kārttikeya. We are, however, inclined to recognise the figure as that of Śiva. Allan[14] notices a small bag in the right hand of the deity which is, however, not clear in the reproduction.

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[7] See *RIC*, p. 12. For the equation of North Indian *ḍ*=Sanskrit *l*, cf. *Mahiḍayo* =Sanskrit *Mahilāḥ*, 'women'.

[8] *CAI*, p. 62. Also *CASR*, II, p. 10.

[9] *AIN*, p. 180.

[10] *ÇAGI*, p. 36.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

[12] *Loc. cit.*

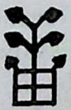
The coins belong to an early period as will be attested by their fabric and the characters of the legend. But the significance of the word *Kāḍa*, the stem of the legend *Kāḍasa*, has not yet been determined. Allan[15] suggests that probably *Kāḍa* is the name of a tribe, not of a ruler ; and in support of this view he refers to the number of the available varieties of the coinage concerned. As already noted, a coin of the present series was found along with the coins of the Kuṇindas. On this ground Cunningham[16] was inclined to connect the issuers of the Kāḍa coins with the Kuṇindas. He[17] further ingeniously suggested that the Kadaiks, forming a subdivision of the Kunets of modern times, are probably descendants of ancient Kuṇindas,[18] having their ancestor in a person called *Kadu* or *Kadru*.

Madavi-Madavika

While examining the cabinet of the late Narendra Singh Singhi (alive at the time of examination) of Calcutta, I came across a copper coin bearing the legend in Brāhmī *Madavi*. Of die-struck variety, the coin is round in shape (20.30 mm.) and weighs 122 grains (7.90 grammes). It is described below.

Obverse : *Madavi* (*ka* ?).

Reverse : Hill surmounted by a tree symbol



Solar symbol to right. (*CN 141*)

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[13] *CCBM*, p. xciii.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*, p. xcii.

[16] *CAI* p. 71.

[17] *Ibid.* Elsewhere Cunningham emphatically says that "these coins must belong to the ophiolatrous race of Kadravas" and attributes the coins to the early *Takkas* of Ṭakka-deśa, *CASR*, II, p. 10. Cunningham's suggestions are of hypothetical nature.

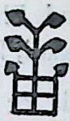
[18] The identification of the Kunets with the Kuṇindas, as suggested by Cunningham, was not accepted by Jayaswal, see *HP*, p. 70n.

The findspot of this coin is unknown. While the hill symbol is commonly met with on early Indian coins, the above tree symbol rather infrequent, has similarity with the one depicted on a series of copper coins hailing from Ujjayinī (Vars. *f-g*. of Class 2 of Allan's *Catalogue*, pp. 244, 248). The solar symbol has also variants on the Ujjayinī coinage (Class 1, Var. *d*, Class 2, Var *a*, *ibid*., pp. 243,245). The legend being written in post-Mauryan characters, the coin in question is datable to the second century B. C.

Another coin bearing the Brāhmī legend *Madavika* was brought to light by A. S. Altekar, who dubbed the characters of the legend Asokan.[19] Like the previous one this coin also is struck on copper and round in shape. Of die-struck variety it weighs 92.6 grains. Belonging to the collection of the late Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad, it has been described by Altekar as follows :

Obverse :	Above, apparently very faint traces of a symbol obliterated. Below, the legend in Asokan characters, *Madavika*.
Reverse :	Tree within railing with five branches or leaves. The railing consists of four squares. To its left is a *va*-topped banner with three horizontal lines to its right. The staff of the banner has not come out on the coin. To the left of the tree, is a symbol like the Brāhmī letter *ma*. Below, apparently is a four-arched hill.

As regards the legend, Altekar[20] points out that after the letter *vi*, there is the remnant of a letter which looks like a *ka*. The shortness of the central bar of *ka* has been explained by him as due to 'the exigencies of space'.

The provenance of the second coin is also unknown. Symbols like the *ma*-shaped taurine, tree within railing and *va*-topped banner (described by us as *jayadhvaja*, *supra*, pp. 64, 79-80) as on the present coin are also found on some early uninscribed coins from Eran and Ujjayini .[21] Excepting the taurine, the other two symbols are seen on the coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra of the Kanauj series as well.[22] The *jayadhvaja* symbol appears on some coins found at Taxila also, though in association with a different group of symbols.[23] The solar symbol and  on the first piece reminiscent of similar symbols occurring on some Ujjayini coins together with this *jayadhvaja* and taurine symbols on the second piece may tend to suggest some association of *Madavi* or *Madavika* with the Ujjayini region. Altekar, however,[24] on typological and palaeographical considerations was inclined to believe that the coin of the Vyas collection (i.e. the second one) 'was issued somewhere in Eran-Kausambi-Kanauj area' round about 200 B. C.

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[19] *JNSI*, IV, pp. 21-22.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 21.

[21] *CCBM*, p. 140 ; 241, 243, 244, etc.

[22] *Ibid*., p. 147.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 229.

As to the legend *Madavi* or *Madavika*, no definite explanation is possible at present, since it either as a name of a person or a tribe or a people or a republic does not appear in any source whatsoever. Indeed, there is no definite proof to show whether *Madavi* or *Madavika* is the name of a king or of a people or of a republic. Both these coins may, however, be tentatively ascribed to a people called *Madavi* or *Madavika*.[24a]

Parata-Pārada

Rapson[25] and Smith[26] published a few copper and silver coins with Kharoshṭhī or Brāhmī inscriptions, some again, having traces of Greek legends on their reverse. The legends being fragmentary, they could not be satisfactorily read. Of late B. N. Mukherjee[27] has thoroughly studied these coins and has traced *Parata* and *Parada* in the legends borne by them. He is therefore inclined to ascribe all these pieces to the Pāradas, who figure in the list of peoples embedded in the indigenous literary texts like the *Mahābhārata*,[28] *Harivaṁśa*,[29] *Manusmṛiti*,[30] *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*,[31] and several Purāṇas.[32] Foreign sources such as the works of Herodotus,[83] Arrian,[84] Strabo,[85] and Pliny[86] also appear to have mentioned them as Paratakenoi, Paraitakai, Paratakena, etc.

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[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

[24a] A. Mitra-Shastri considers *Madavika* as the name of a people and identifies them with the Māṇḍavyas mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhita* (XIV. 2), *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, p. 89, fn. 1. He has not, however, given any evidence in support of his view.

[25] *JRAS*, 1905, p. 789f.

[26] *JASB*, 1897, p. 9f.

[27] The results of Mukherjee's researches have been embodied in his full-length study of the people, *The Paradas*, Calcutta, 1972. The present note is mainly based on this monograph.

[28] II. 50. 13.

[29] XIV. 1-19 (edited by R. Kinjawadekar).

[30] X. 43.

[31] XIV. 21, XVI. 4, etc.

[32] As for example, *Brahmapurāṇa* (Vangavasi edition), 27. 46; *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition) 49. 49; *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta), 57. 37-39, etc.

Minted somewhere in north-western India or its borderlands to the south of the Hindukush, these coins are divisible into three classes on the basis of the scripts of their legends. Following is their description.

Class 1

Obverse : A male bust to right. A Kharoshṭhī monogram on the right and marginal Kharoshṭhī inscription : (iv) *Padada* (?) *ka* (?) *pa* (?) *ra* (?) *ta* (?) (*sa*) (?)...

Reverse : A man on a horse moving to right and being crowned by Nike flying from behind. Traces of Greek inscription : (VIII) *tyro* (?)...(VII) *koss*. (*CN 142*)

N.B. On another specimen the reading of the Kharoshṭhī legend has been suggested as *Rayasa* (*raña*)...(i) *Padadaka Parata* (*sa*). *Kossan* has been traced in its Greek legend on the reverse.

Class 2

Obverse : A bearded bust to left within a border of dots, with hair hanging down to the shoulders.

Reverse : *Svastika* in the centre. Marginal Kharoshṭhī legend : *Bagapharnaputrasa Parata* (or *da*) (*ra**) *jasa Puḍenasa*.

N.B. On another specimen the reverse legend has been read (*Ba*) *gapha* (*phi*) (*rnapu*) *trasa Puḍhra* (or *ḍhre*) *nasa*. (*CN 143*)

Class 3

Obverse : A male bust to right within a border of dots.

Reverse : *Svastika* as above. Marginal Brāhmī legend : *Yasamā* (or *-mi*) *raputrasa Paratarāja Hvara* (or *va* or *ha*) *mirasa*. (*CN 144a*)

N.B. The legends on two other pieces have been read as......(*puta*) *sa Paratarajasa Palasara* (*sa*) (*CN 144b*) and *Hilamā* (or *ja*) *raputasa Paratarā* (*ja**) *Arjuna*(*sa*).

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[83] *History* (*Herodotou Istoriai*), I. 101.

[84] *Anabasis*, III. 19. 1-5.

[85] *Geography*, XI. 12. 4.

[86] *Natural History*, VI. 30, 124.

Class I consists of two copper pieces, one weighing 150 grains, the other 150.3 grains. The equestrian figure being crowned by Nike on the reverse is strikingly similar to that of the tetradrachms of the Kushāṇa ruler Miaos; the fragmentary *kossan* in Greek on the obverse, also appears on the Miaos coinage. These two features tend to show that these coins were minted during or after the rule of Miaos, and perhaps also of Hermaeus and of Kujula, the latter flourishing in the first quarter of the first century A. D. Based on the weight-standard of the so-called Indo-Greek tetradrachms, these copper staters (so to speak) are ascribable to the first century A. D. from the palaeographical standpoint as well and were struck by a person named Padadaka, also described as a Parata.

Class 2 also consists of two pieces,[87] but they are made of silver. Of them one weighing 24.7 grains is now in the British Museum, the other with a weight of 37.6 grains belonged to the collection of M. L. Dames. They also appear to have been related to the drachm standard of the Indo-Greeks varying between 35 and 40 grains. Coming from the Jhelum district, both of them are to be dated to the last part of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A. D. Such a dating is supported by the influence of the coinage of the Sassanian ruler Hormizd I Kushānshāh which started in or shortly after C. A. D. 262. The presence of Kharoshṭhī on them also shows that they are to be placed before the Kharoshṭhī script went out of use in North-western India in the fourth or fifth century A. D. The species in question reveal the existence of rule of a Parata king Puḍena (or Puḍhana or Puḍhena) in the Jhelum district.

Coins of Class 3, all of silver, appear to have been struck after Kharoshṭhī fell into disuse in the Jhelum area. Of the four pieces of this Class, one weighing 45.5 grains, is now in the British Museum, while a second one of the Bleazeby collection, weighs 28 grains; the weights of the remaining ones are not known. While metrologically the species of this class are related to those of Class 2, palaeographically they are contemporaneous with those of the above Class. In other words, they are to be dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A. D. They disclose the existence of Parata rulers whose names have been read as Hvaramira, Palasara and Arjuna.

If Mukherjee's readings of the legends on the coins in question are accepted, it will appear that the word common to all of them is

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[87] The collection of M. L. Dames is reported to have included eleven other identical silver coins. See *JRAS*, 1905, p. 790.

Parata, of which *Pārada* is a recognisable variant. From the contexts of its uses the expression seems to signify either a people or a family. Since *Pārada* appears not infrequently as a tribal name in indigenous and foreign treatises, it would not be unjust to ascribe the present coins to the people of the same name. Originally a Median and non-Indian tribe (note the names and expressions *Bagapharṇa* and *Hvaramira*),[38] the Pāradas entered India in or about the first century A. D., carved out a kingdom in North-western India[39] and struck coins probably before and after the Kushāṇa rule. And like other foreign peoples they were also eventually merged in the Indian population. Their memory is perhaps enshrined in the Indian word (in Sanskrit and other languages) *Pārada*, i.e. mercury in which they once traded and its source at Hiṅglāj (ancient Hiṅgulāja) in Baluchistan once formed a part of their territory.

The extra-Indian origin of the Pāradas is clearly indicated by relevant sources. Nevertheless, they were essentially a tribal people and ruled partly in India. Hence their coinage may be included in the discussion on tribal coins of ancient India.

Upagoda

A word *Upagoda* with genitive suffix, written in Brāhmī characters of the late third century B.C., is seen inscribed on a unique copper cast piece with its provenance unknown. It was first noticed by Thomas[40] and later described by Rapson[41] and Allan.[42] Rapson[43] notices some likeness between this piece and the Patna seals with the inscriptions *Nadaya* and *Agapalaśa*, undoubtedly names of persons, and hence he takes it to be a seal, rather than a coin. The weight of the piece is 185.0 grains and thus it may be regarded as a 100-*rati* or 180-grain coin of a heavy *paṇa* equal to 1¼ *paṇa* of the common standard. Further, from the standpoints of fabric and the character of the legend the present piece bears an affinity with the single-die coins bearing the legend *Vaṭasvaka*. It is better, therefore, to treat it as a coin and not a seal.

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[38] Their non-Indian origin was apparently known to Indian writers who grouped them with the foreigners.

[39] Ptolemy (*Geography*, VIII. 1. 55-61) locates Paradabathra, apparently a Pārada settlement, on the west of the Indus and includes it in Indo-Scythia. S. M. Ali locates this territory in the Mithankot region of Dera Ghazi Khan district of Pakistan. See *Geography of the Purāṇas* (1966), p. 144.

[40] *PE*, I, p. 216.

[41] *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 102-03, Pl. 3.

[42] *CCBM*, pp. clxv-cxlvi, 263, Pl. XXXV, 18.

[43] *JRAS*, 1900, p. 103.

The coin has on its obverse a circle with pellet in centre above, and a taurine symbol below the legend which is *Upagodasa*. The reverse is blank (*CN 145*).

The Prakrit word *Upagoda* may be sanskritized as *Upagauda*. Rapson[44] tries to explain *Upagoda* either as a personal name like *Upagupta*, *Upendra*, etc. or as place-names like *Upavaṅga*, *Upajyotishā*, etc. S. K. Chakrabortty[45] suggests that *Upagauda*, the Sanskrit form of *Upagoda*, seems to be a variant of *Upagauḍa*, the supposed name of a place, now represented by Gonḍa in Uttarapradesh. Chakrabortty thus treats it as a local coin. None of the above suggestions so far advanced seems to be final. One may, however, consider the probability of the legend referring to a tribe called Upagoda, otherwise unknown from any source.

Upātikyā

A piece with the legend *Upātikyā* was found at Ambarikha, near Mathura, by Cunningham[46] (*CN 146*). Like the preceding one this may also be suspected to be a seal. But it may be more prudent to take it like the other one to be a specimen of the single-die variety resembling those bearing the legend *Vaṭasvaka*. There is a *svastika* symbol on the side containing the legend *Upātikyā* which is written in Brāhmī characters of the late third century B. C. Whether Upātikyā is the name of a person or a place, or a tribe cannot be said at present. But like the designation *Aśvaka* it may have a tribal significance. Weighing 37 grains, it seems to be a ¼ *paṇa*.

Vapu

Seven copper coins with the legend *Vapu* in Brāhmī on their obverse came to light in course of excavations at Rairh in Jaipur.[47] They bear on their obverse the cross-and-ball or the so-called Ujjain symbol and the *chaitya* or the hill symbol and on the reverse the Ujjain and solar symbols. Their weight varies between 4.93 grains and 56.68 grains and it seems to have been based on the *paṇa* standard. Palaeographically the coins may be assigned to the second century B. C. or perhaps to the close of the third century B. C. (*CN 147 a-b*).

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[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *AIN*, p. 218.

[46] *CASR*, III, p. 14; *CCBM*, pp. cxlvi, 263, Pl. XXXV, 19.

[47] For details, *ER*, pp. 53, 68-9, Pl. XXVI, 15-16.

The word *Vapu* is not easy to explain. K. N. Puri,[48] who discovered them, was inclined to take it as another unknown name of a Mālava chief. R. C. Agrawala[49] considers it to be the name of a place of Mālava *janapada*. Such coins being not reported from any other site so far, it appears that they were essentially local issues. *Vapu* may be an abbreviated variant of *Sudavapa*, a place-name occurring on another series of coins discovered at the same site (*supra*, pp. 173f, 180f). It is, however, equally likely that it was the name of a people and like the Sogis the Vapus were a clan of the famous Mālava tribe.

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[49] *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India (c. 300 B. C.-300 A. D.)*, edited by A. K. Narain, Varanasi, 1968, p. 27.

Appendix II

ART IN TRIBAL COINAGE

TRIBAL, INDEED all early Indian indigenous coins, have no adequate claim to be reckoned as objects of art. In general, their standard of conception is low and technical quality poor, and this becomes more manifest when they are compared with contemporary Greek and Indo-Bactrian coins. The earliest indigenous issues, known by the name 'punch-marked coins',[1] are generally of irregular shape and clumsy execution. Mostly of silver and inconsiderably of copper, these pieces are uninscribed and are practically without any artistic design and several hundred symbols including their variants borne by them seldom go beyond a representational significance. So are the uninscribed cast coins, later than the punch-marked coins with similar symbols on them.[2] Tribal coins are their successors and in many ways related to them, yet they show a real advance in shape, conception and workmanship as well as in the appearance of legends on them. They are generally die-struck, occasionally cast, and in shape are either rectangular or round (properly speaking roundish). The motifs and devices on them consist of human and animal figures, marked by a certain power of observation and a relative clarity of expression and thus the tribal issues provide a step forward from the punch-marked coins. Yet the tribal repertoire is predominantly symbolic. Almost all the signs and symbols appearing on them come down from the punch marked coins and not a few are the direct or indirect descendants of the Harappan art. And some of them again have survived to our days, the *svastika* for instance. Indeed, as documents of socio-religious art and culture the punch-marked, tribal and kindred coins are no less valuable than other antiquities and the art expressed in them sometimes surpasses other art forms in so far as it presents a consistent continuity of our culture as well as the spirit of the time in which it existed.

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[1] Practically of all conceivable shapes, these pieces are seen punched with various symbols on both sides, and hence the nomenclature 'punch-marked'. They circulated all over India and their origins may be placed in the fifth century B. C. or even earlier. Archaeological evidence, however, cannot date them beyond fourth-third century B. C. They were current even in the early centuries of the Christian era. Our reference is to the earliest issues.

[2] Cast from moulds, these coins were in wide circulation in North India, and perhaps rarely in the South. They originated sometime in the third century B. C. and appear to have continued till the third century A. D.

As said above, tribal coins bear a large number of symbols on them and the corpus consists of more than one hundred symbols (including variants of course) and they range from simple geometric designs to elaborate ornamental patterns. In respect of frequency of occurrence the most prominent among them is tree-in-railing. Other important symbols include arched hill or *chaitya* (generally six-arched, at times three- and -ten -arched), taurine symbol, the cross-and-ball or the so-called Ujjain symbol, *jayadhvaja*, solar symbol, *svastika* and the like. While most of them appear on the punch-marked coins and some are traceable even in the Harappa culture, others like the *svastika* had an extra-Indian significance as illustrated by certain objects recovered from old sites in Western Asia and Greece. Earliest records of man's urge for expression, such symbols are not always easy to explain and their interpretations are at best intelligent hypotheses. One thing is, however, certain : a majority of them are invested with religious significance. Primitive in origin and conception, these symbols are sometimes irregularly arranged and clumsy in execution (*CN 39, 40*), but examples are not rare where they are appreciably characterised by a rhythm and discipline (*CN 42* ; *Pl. IX, 44x*).

Next to these signs and symbols are the human and animal figures, the latter occurring more frequently than the former. Of the animals our tribal peoples appear to have had a special liking, a kind of veneration, for the bull. Tribal artists have portrayed this animal in different attitudes—standing, seated and walking, and sometimes before a tree or a sacrificial post (*yūpa*) ; it is featured with its entire body except in one case where it appears with its horned face only. In respect of popularity bull is followed by elephant and this animal has also been depicted in different attitudes ; unlike bull, however, it is not recumbent nor does it stand before any tree or sacrificial altar. Other animals consist of stag, lion, horse, fish and peacock. Mule or ass is doubted in one specimen, while composite animals have been recognised in two instances (a third one is reported on an Agra piece, Class 3, Var. B, p. 6). These animals are apparently the theriomorphic representations of different gods and goddesses, as for example, the bull and stag stand for Śiva and Lakshmī respectively. Anthropomorphic representations of such divinities are also not rare on tribal species, as exemplified by the figures of Śiva and Lakshmī on the Kuṇinda coins and Kārttikeya and Devasenā on the Yaudheya issues. These deities also appear with their emblems and cognizances, as for instance Śiva with his combined trident- battle-axe and Kārttikeya with his characteristic *śakti* (long spear). Apart from the unique and interesting effigy of the sage Viśvāmitra, other human figures are obviously of the tribal leaders or chiefs. Extremely interesting is the appearance of a temple of the proto-Dravidian architectural type on a series of the monetary issues of the north Indian Audumbaras (*CN 19, 20*).

Art in coinage is a miniaturists' art and like a miniature-painter the die-engraver or mint-master has to work minutely and meticulously within an inordinately limited space (e.g. the tiny Mālava coins). He has to grapple with the compositional problem, particularly where the format is round. Moreover, he has to dissolve the conflict between the flat surface and the three-dimensional extension, a phenomenon which a relief-artist confronts with. Majority of the die-engravers in the tribal communities in our period were less competent than the contemporary Greek craftsmen, yet occasionally they give evidence of their sculptural sensibility, desire for harmony and admirable workmanship. Such specimens are not rare reaching a level higher than the mere 'archaic'.

Look at the two silver issues of the Kuṇindas (*CN 42, 43*), the obverse of which bears the figures of Lakshmī and a stag. The format is round, space limited, but the artist has ably composed his design. While elsewhere the emphasis is either on verticality (e.g. *CN 11, 17, 25, 52, 112*) or on horizontality (e.g. *CN 23, 24, 99* obverse, *104, 109a-c*), in these examples the artist has eminently succeeded in effecting a happy integration between the verticality and the horizontality. Also noticeable is his deft modelling of the figures, particularly that of the stag. Indeed, he has to a large extent been able to dissolve the conflict between the flat surface and the three-dimensional extension and has brought out the the figures clearly and realistically. The reverse of these species bears as many as five symbols, apart from the inscription, yet within this limited space he has arranged them all in a pleasant harmony.[a] The representation of Devasenā on some Yaudheya coins (*CN 128a, 128b* ; *Pl. XI, 129x*) is also artistically conceived and naturalistically rendered with a charm and beauty foreshadowing the daintier female figures of the Gupta art. The image on the second piece (i.e. *CN 128b*) in particular is skilfully modelled and is imparted with a feeling of movement and compared to this, the figure on another specimen (*CN 128c*) is relatively static and stylized. The figure of her consort is also well-executed and is markedly spirited (*CN 128b*). The effigy of Viśvāmitra on a coin of the Audumbara series has been brought out exhaustively and rendered with a remarkable realism.

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[a] These two coins appear to be either the handiwork of two different artists or the works of the same artist executed in different periods.

In delineation of animal figures perhaps the tribal die-cutters excel more, and the animals, particularly the bull, are remarkable for their dynamic naturalism. While the bull on the Audumbara coin (*Pl. IX, CN 24x*) is impressive for its quiet and dignity standing on earth with its full weight, the other one before the sacrificial altar on the Ārjunāyana piece (*CN 16*) is noteworthy for the expression of a doomed animal writ large in its face which is turned towards onlookers. Mention may be made of two more examples where the artist has succeeded in imparting a plasticity of movement and potency and strength in the bull he has portrayed (*CN 67b, 101*). Skill in animal portraiture is also seen in the elephant[4] on the coins of the Audumbaras (*CN 24a-b, 26, 29*), lion on the Agra (*CN 6*) and Mālava (*CN 79*) issues and horse on a Yaudheya specie (*CN 111*). The volume and weight of the elephant, the majesty of the lion and the sprightliness of the horse articulate in these specimens bespeak not only the clarity of vision of the artists but also their mature workmanship. While devices of smaller animals like the fish and peacock (*CN 101, 128c*) get their due place and plastic treatment in an elaborate composition, fantastic animals like the elephant-lion on the unique Vṛishṇi coin (*CN 105*) displays a good sense of modelling and proportion of the artist. The manner of placing three fishes, the first two facing right and the remaining to left, displays a neat sense of balance. The tribal mint-masters have also left evidence of some knowledge of perspective, awareness of details and sculpting skill in the temple motif on the Audumbara coins (e.g. *CN 19, 20*). Sense of balance and design is manifest in the trident battle-axe on the same Audumbara pieces and also in vegetal devices on some other coins (*CN 9, 22*).

Of unknown authorship, the large number of tribal coins were produced by artists of varying degree of competence. In other words, clumsy coins in relatively massive quantities are seen by the side of good coins. Such bad and indifferent coins outnumber the species which are aesthetically impressive and this remains true even after the due consideration of the fact that many good specimens have undergone wear and tear. It is not unreasonable to assume therefore that in monetary art Indians lagged behind other nations, particularly the Greeks, and they seem to have received much inspiration, if not direction, from the numismatic art of the Hellenistic age. A closer scrutiny of the tribal issues reveals the foreign strain indeed, apart from its basically indigenous idiom. The indigenous strain may be exemplified by the conventional tree designs (*CN 99, 107a-b*), crude and disproportionate animal devices (*CN 88, 109a, 136*) and human figures (*CN 13, 18, 139a-b*). Though the human figures are governed by the law of frontality, there are exceptions as well. The Audumbara chiefs, for example, are seen in profile, and marked by dynamism (see *CN 26, 31*), they offer a contrast to the Kāḍa gentleman. Similarly, the Kuṇinda Lakshmī despite her frontality is stylistically superior to her Agra and Rājanya counterparts. All these female figures are closely related to, or are emanations from, the effigy of the earth- or -mother goddess in the Harappan art, the gold plaques at Piprawa and Lauriya Nandangarh and her representations on the ring-stones of the historic and proto-historic sites. The broad-hipped goddess on the Agra coin (*CN 13*) is perhaps the best illustration on the point. Artistically the Agra and Rājanya female figurines along with their male counterparts on the Audumbara and Kāḍa pieces are essentially linear in treatment, with little sense of volume. The structure depicted on a solitary coin of the Trigartas (*CN 98*) further illustrates this linear tradition and its contrast with the Audumbara temple rendered in terms of depth will be apparent even at a cursory glance. And in this respect all such linear compositions are but a reflection of the early indigenous tradition of Sanchi-Bharhut-Bodhgaya.

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[4] It may be imagined that the elephant on the Yaudheya issue (*CN 109b*) was originally imbued with dynamic naturalism, the present indifferent condition of the animal being due to the wear of the piece whereon it appears.

Stylistic changes, however, appeared with the passage of time, apparently when the tribal die-cutters came in contact with the Indo-Greek and other phil-Hellenic artists.[5] Coins of the early centuries of the Christian era, and some species of the first century B. C. bear witness to this phenomenon. The figure of Viśvāmitra, for instance, is strongly reminiscent of the effigy of Hercules crowning himself on the hemidrachms of the Indo-Greek king Lysias; the general fabric of the Audumbara piece is markedly Indo-Greek as well. The figure of Devasenā is another example reflecting the Hellenistic, or more precisely the Graeco-Kushan, idiom in the modelling of its body-contour and in general treatment. The Śiva figure on the Kuṇinda copper coins is structurally more slack and weak than Viśvāmitra and Devasenā. Standing between Viśvāmitra of the Audumbara series on the one hand and the human figure on the species of the so-called 'Mitra' chiefs of the same series on the other it reflects an amalgam of indigenous and foreign strains; it is indigenous in conception (iconically in particular), Hellenistic in execution (particularly in respect of the plasticity of modelling). The practice of displaying the whole device within a dotted border and that of putting inscriptions on the coins, apart from the metrology of the silver issues, are clear pointers to the foreign or Graeco-Oriental influence on the tribal coins.

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[5] The Greek and Hellenistic coinages exerted influence over an extensive area ranging from Mauretania, Numidia and towns of Spain to Bithynia, Pontos, Parthia, India, the Celtic populations of the east and west and to Rome as well as to Macedonia, Pergamon, Syria and Egypt.

Another interesting phenomenon needs mention in this context. From early times, at least from the close of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B. C., India formed an integral part of what Coomaraswamy termed 'Ancient East'.[6] The connections between Indian and West Asiatic art repertories have been proved by objects other than coins. A closer scrutiny of these hitherto neglected tiny objects will reinforce this conclusion. For example, the *jayadhvaja* and the *svastika* appearing on several tribal and other indigenous issues are met with in West Asiatic repertories. Again, the fantastic animals on the coins of the Agras (*CN 11*) and the Vṛishṇis (*CN 105*), are reminiscent of similar forms recurring in early art of Persia, particularly of the Achaemenian period. All these symbols and art-forms seen in the art of Sanchi-Bharhut-Bodhagaya as well do not suggest any borrowing but points to a very early common origin, thus strengthening the thesis regarding the existence of an 'Ancient East' of which India was an active member.[7]

Successors of the earliest punch-marked coins, tribal coins are indigenous in origin and conception. As aesthetic objects they are modest and unpretentious. Nonetheless, specimens are not rare which are justly noteworthy as objects of art. Unsophisticated though, they are not merely simple. The art expressed in them is a pre-eminently social art reflecting the spirit of the time when they were current. Signs and symbols and animals and human figures appearing on them as well as their general fabric and technical finish reflect both indigenous and foreign idioms which not unoften inseparably overlap each other. And collectively all these small relics speak of an age when their issuers, the tribal peoples, overstepped their 'tribal' grooves and strove to move in equal pace with their so-called civilized neighbours, both here and abroad.

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[6] *HIIA*, p. 13.

[7] In connection with my suggestion made in p. 15 I may observe that the idea of composite animals may be traced to a common source. Apart from the Harappans some peoples of the Western Asia, such as the Achaemenians, are known to have been familiar with this age-old idea. The Agras and Vṛishṇis might have obtained this as a heritage of the past.

Appendix III

THE MINTING TECHNIQUE OF TRIBAL COINS

THE ANTIQUITY of minting coins in India may be pushed back to the days of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* by Pāṇini. Generally placed in the fifth century B.C., this work contains the earliest definite mention of stamped metallic pieces or coins as illustrated by terms like *naishkam, dvi-naishkikam, tri-naishkikam, śatamāna, kārshāpaṇa*, etc. In other words, coins were in extensive use in the time of Pāṇini and it would not be wrong to assume that coins took their form at least a century earlier, that is, in the sixth century B. C. (*supra*, p. 247, fn. 1).

Except the incidental references to the objects used in the fabrication of coins as well as to the counterfeiters of coins in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the actual technique of minting coins has not been described in any early Indian text. The extant coins themselves, however, show that their issuing authorities adopted three kinds of technique for their manufacture. In the first one, coin-flans of desired weight were sufficiently heated and then impressed with various symbols by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface; by reason of this technique these coins are known as 'punch-marked coins' in which 'we see money in the very infancy of the numismatic art'. By the second process, coins were produced by casting from moulds. In this system two negatively designed moulds were joined together, followed by the pouring of molten metal into their hollow space through a cavity and when the metal had cooled, the pieces were taken out from the moulds; in case of large-scale manufacture the moulds were connected by narrow channels for the passage of the heated metal from one form to another and after the necessary cooling down of the metal the pieces were separated by breaking off the joints. The third and the last mode known as the die-striking technique is chronologically the last as well. It had two evolutionary stages: in the first stage, only one side of the coin-blank was stamped with a device by a single die, while in the second, devices were impressed on both sides of the coin-blank by two separate dies. The double-die system, obviously more complicated than the single-die process, needed in addition of the punch-die an anvil-die bearing a device of some sort cut upon it in intaglio. The coin-blank of required weight was placed on this anvil in a semi-molten state and then the die-punch was struck sharply (perhaps several times) with a hammer ; the lower side of the coin thus would have had the impression in relief and its upper side also would have had the same type of impression where the punch-die bore the device in intaglio. This technique is commonly known as the hammer-and-anvil process.

As regards the coin-blank used in the die-striking technique, it appears that they were either cut out of a thin hammered sheet of metal in necessary weight (in the case of square or rectangular coins) or were cast from moulds (in the case of pieces of all shapes). A third method produced these blanks by beating flat globules of desired weight in a semi-molten condition.

Of the three minting techniques described above the tribal peoples adopted the casting and die-striking systems. Though the exact mode of fabrication of tribal coins is not easy always to determine, a careful examination of such coins belonging to different museums and private collections have led us to infer that the die-striking process was relatively popular with early Indian tribes. This does not mean, however, that the casting technique dwindled in importance ; in reality it was employed not unoften, inasmuch as prominent tribes like the Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas are seen to have manufactured a large number of their coins, apart from coin-blanks, by the casting process.

Tribal coins were generally die-struck either on hammered blanks or on cast blanks. Coins of the Agras, Ārjunāyanas, Kulūtas, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, among others, bear witness to it. The shallow incuse on the Agra pieces (*CN 9, 13*) and on the obverse of the solitary coin of the Trigartas (*CN 98*), for example, shows that the die-punch was smaller than the flan. Instances are, however, not rare which display a comparatively big die (e.g. *CN 37*). The well-produced silver coins of the Audumbaras, Yaudheyas, and of the Kuṇindas in particular, speak of neatly designed anvil- and punch- dies. The modelling of the animals and human figures as well as the balanced and harmonious arrangement of symbols on them appear to have been largely the result of foreign inspiration (see *Appendix II*).

Blanks of the tribal coins were not unoften cast as exemplified by some of the Audumbara and Kuṇinda issues. Blanks of the silver coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghosa appear to have been prepared by casting. The large protuberance of flan of the copper coin of the Kuṇindas illustrated here (*Pl. XI, CN 51x*) shows that the Kuṇinda mint-master also sometimes prepared his blanks by casting. The blanks of the tiny Mālava issues (e.g. *CN 72c*) as well as some Agra and Rājanya coins appear to have been prepared by beating this semi-molten copper globules which were then struck by the hammer-

and-anvil process, obviously with noteworthy care and efficiency. The die-punches in these cases were apparently small, being reminiscent of those used in punch-marked coins. The relief impressions of the Mālava and similar other tribal issues show that the designs on the relevant die-punches were cut in intaglio unlike the die-punches of the punch-marked coins.

As already said, not only coin-blanks but also coins themselves suggest the casting mode of their fabrication. An examination of several Kuṇinda and Yaudheya coins of different museums and private collections by us as well as by others have led us to this conclusion.[1] Of the Indian Museum specimens a Kuṇinda coin cast in high relief (*CCIM* p. 169, no. 28), a Rājanya piece (*ibid.*, p. 180, no. 7) and two Yaudheya species of Class 2 (*ibid.*, p. 180, no. 4; p. 181, no. 7), may be cited, among others, as relevant examples. Support to our finding has been lent by the late Richard Burn[2] who on an examination of the Yaudheya species of the cabinet of the British Museum remarks that about half of them 'seem to have been struck and the rest cast'. But the most positive evidence in this regard has been supplied by numerous coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas at Rohtak, Sunet and elsewhere. The late Birbal Sahni, to whom goes the credit of biggest of such discoveries at Rohtak, thoroughly studied the form and structure of these moulds. Relevant extracts from his dissertation are quoted below: [3]

> "The mould was made up of a series of discs placed in a vertical column, like a pile of coins. The whole pile was plastered over with clay, only a funnel-like crater being left at the top for receiving the molten metal. The crater led vertically down into a central canal like the shaft of a mine. From this canal again, as in a mine, horizontal channels led out at different levels, and these opened into the coin-sockets. At each level eight such channels radiated from the central shaft, and opened into as many coin-sockets arranged in a ring. The coupled faces of contiguous discs bore the negative impressions of the obverse and reverse respectively, and were so placed as to make the opposing sockets coincide exactly. (*Pl. XII, 1*).
>
> After the metal had been poured in and the mould was cool enough it was broken up and the coins attached in whorls at the

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[1] We have examined the coins of the collections of the Indian Museum, Jaipur Museum, the Asiatic Society and the late Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta.

[2] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, IX, p. 7.

[3] *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, pp. 18-19.

> ends of the spokes were broken off, the remaining metal being again put into the melting pot. Occasionally a coin hurriedly broken off would carry away with it the end of the spoke. On the other hand, a portion of the coin margin may be left behind on the spoke and the coin shows a concave scar."

Yaudheya coins fabricated in the aforesaid mode belong to what we have described as Class 2. They bear on their obverse the Brāhmī legend *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake* and belong to the first century B. C. It is to be noted, however, that such coins were also manufactured in the hammer-and-anvil process. But what is surprising that several coins of Class 7, though latest in the series, are also seen to have been produced by casting from moulds, and that too in a technique much simpler than the one employed in the Class 2 coins of earlier days. This has been demonstrated by the moulds discovered at Sunet. Unlike the complex multiple moulds of the Rohtak mint, the Sunet moulds are single-coin discs, sometimes joined back to back. In the words of Sahni[4] :

> "The material in hand is not quite sufficient to show all the details of the process. But it is clear that the casting was done in a series of discs placed parallel to one another so as to make up a cylindrical pile. This is evident not only from the adhering remains of the plaster on the back of each disc, but also from the fact that specimens have been found which consist of pairs of discs still bound together back to back by their blank faces, with an intervening layer of mortar between them...
>
> "Each pair of discs, when coupled face to face, would have its two exposed sides blank. A number of such pairs were placed parallel to each other with a layer of plaster (consisting of clay mixed with fibrous vegetable matter) laid between the contiguous pairs, like mortar between bricks. The whole series was then plastered over on the outside with the same binding material, taking care to leave open all the channels into the sockets. (This may have been done by keeping the channels plugged with sticks before the plaster was laid on.)
>
> "Thus it appears that there must have been a longitudinal row of openings along one side of the cylindrical mould, each leading independently into a coin-socket." (*Pl. XII, 2, 3*).

Sahni, however, conjectures that instead of pouring the metal separately into each opening, with the cylinder laid horizontally, the mint-master poured it into a single common channel communicating with all the sockets. The possibility of two or more such cylindrical moulds being joined together round a vertical axis so as to bring all the individual channels into communication with a single axial canal fed through a crater at the top is ruled out by the actual specimens.

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

The reason of the employment of both casting and die-striking techniques in the Yaudheya coins of Classes 2 and 7 may only be guessed. The growing demand for die-struck specimens resulting in the rise of cost in preparing more metallic dies might have prompted mint-masters to manufacture coins by the simpler casting method as well. Whether many of such cast coins were contemporaneous forgeries is extremely difficult to determine.

Appendix IV

A LIST OF TRIBAL COINS

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
Agra	*Class 1*		
	Variety A	*MASI*, 61, p. 5, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 ; p. 6, Nos. 13, 20, 27, 29 ; p. 7, Nos. 33, 44, 46, 47 ; p. 8, No. 51.	
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 282, Nos. 22, 23, Pl. XLV, 21, 22.	
	Variety C	*MASI*, 61, p. 6, Nos. 19, 24, 26, 30 ; p. 7, Nos, 34, 36, 41 ; p. 8, No. 50.	On coin No. 26 only the lower part of the bull is visible.
	Variety D	*Ibid*., p. 5, No, 21, p. 6, Nos. 15, 16 ; p. 7, No. 42.	No. 15 has on its obverse two instead of one tree.
	Variety E	*Ibid*., p. 5 ; Nos. 3, 7 ; p. 7, Nos. 32, 40.	
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*Ibid*., p. 6, Nos. 23, 31 ; p. 7, Nos. 39, 45, 48. *CCIM*, p. 209, No. 11.	It cannot be said certainly as to whether the animal on the reverse coin No. 39 is a lion. The reverse of No. 48 has a part of railing.
	Variety B	*CCBM*, pp. 282-83, No. 26, Pl, XLV, 23,	

Tribes	Classes and Varieties	References	Remarks
	Variety C	*CCBM*, p. 282, Nos. 24, 25. *CCIM*, p. 206, Pl. XXIII, 13. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 32, Pl. IIC, No. 4.	Coin No. 25 of the *CCBM* has a fragmentary legend *tapa*. Legend on the coin of the *CCIM* is also fragmentary.
	Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 279, No.1, Pl. XLV, 9.	This is a unique coin. Like the Agroha specimens, this is of the rectangular shape.
	Variety E	*Ibid*., p. 283, No. 27.	The legend is uncertain. Allan writes *-datachaya-* in the text of the *CCBM* while writes *-dabhichaya-* in the *Introduction*.
	Class 3		
	Variety A	*MASI*, 61, No. 28.	It appears to bear the impression of a composite animal.
	Variety B	*Ibid*., No. 37.	Same as above.
	Class 4	*CCBM*, p. 283, Nos. 28, 29, Pl. XLV, 24.	They are rare coins.
Ārjunāyana	*Class 1*	*PE*, Pl. XLIV, 22. *CAI*, Pl. VIII, 20. *CCIM*, p. 166. No. 1, *CCBM*, p. 121, Pl. XIV, 10.	Prinsep wrongly read the legend as *rajna Raghunam*. The Indian Museum specimen bears the impression of a male figure with upraised hand.
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*CCIM*, p. 166, Pl. XX, 10.	
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 121, Pl. XIV, 11,	

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
Aśvaka		*CAI*, p. 61, Pl. II, 17. *CCIM*, p. 157, 13. *CCBM*, p. 264, Pl. XXXIX, 1-4.	
Audumbara	*Class 1*		
	Variety A	*CCBM*, p. 122, Pl. XV, 1. *SCCIM*, I, p. 49, No. 1.	The trident symbol on the *SCCIM* specimen has been wrongly described as plough.
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 122, Pl. XV, 2, 4, 10 ; p. 123, Pl. XV, 3. *NS*, XXIII, p. 250. *SCCIM*, p. 49, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 12.	Coins Nos. 7-11 of the *CCBM* were found at Irippal. The Asiatic Society has got a coin of this variety.
	Variety C	*CCBM*, p, 125, Pl. XIV, 15. *SCCIM*, p. 49, No. 2.	Kharoshṭhī legend on coin No. 2 of the *SCCIM* is illegible. The Asiatic Society has two coins of this variety.
	Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 124, Pl.XV; 5. *SCCIM*, p. 49, Nos. 5, 7.	*SCCIM* specimen No. 5 presents some novelty in introducing the Brāhmī legend with the motif of a tree, the forepart of an elephant, etc. which usually occur on the obverse. Coin No. 7 has an additional feature, viz., rider on elephant.
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV, 5. *CCBM*, p. 123, Pl. XIV, 16.	Cunningham reads *raja-raja* on the reverse, the side which he takes as obverse.
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 123, Pl. XIV, 17,	

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety C	*CAI*, p. 67, Pl. IV, 1. *CCBM*, p. 124, Pl. XIV, 14. *CCPM*, p. 167, Pl. XVI, 136.	
	Class 3		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 69, Pl. IV, 7. *CCBM*, pp. 125-26, Pl. XV, 13-15.	
	Variety B	*CAI*, p. 69, Pl. IV, 9. *CCBM*, pp. 126, 287, Pl. XLIII, 1.	
	Variety C	*CAI*, p. 69, IV, 8, 9. *CCBM*, pp. 126-27, Pl. XV, 17-20.	Allan does not refer to the wavy line to right.
	Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 127, Pl.XV, 1, 2, 19, 21, 22 ; and Pl. XVI, 1, 3. *CCIM*, p. 166, Nos. 3, 4.	Coin No. 3 of the *CCIM* is doubtfully attributed to Bhānumitra.
	Variety E	*CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV, 12. *CCIM*, p. 166, No. 1.	Reference to the undulating line is not made in the description of the coin in the *CCIM*.
	Variety F	*CCBM*, p. 128, Pl. XLIII, 2.	
	Variety G	*Ibid.*, p. 128, Pl. XLIII, 3.	
	Variety H	*Ibid.*, p. 287, No. 30.	
	Variety I	*Ibid.*, p. 126, Pl. XV, 16.	
	Variety J	*Ibid.*, p. 125, Pl. XV, 11, 12.	Allan notices cobra and stūpa on the obverse.
	Variety K	*JRAS*, 1900, p. 112, Plate : No. 12.	The reverse of the coin is worn.

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
Kulūta	*Class 1*		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV, 14. *CCBM*, 158, Pl. XVI, 4.	In the *CAI* the weight is given as 57·5 which is apparently a printing mistake.
	Variety B	*Taxila*, II, p. 120, III, Pl. 243, No. 254.	
	Class 2	*Ibid.*, Nos. 252, 253, 257.	
	Class 3	*Ibid.*, No. 255.	What Marshall considers as reverse has been taken as obverse.
	Class 4	*Ibid.*, No. 256.	
Kuṇinda	*Class 1*		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 72, Pl. V, 1. *CCIM*, p. 167, Nos. 7, 8. *CCBM*, pp. 159-60, Pl. XXII, 1, 7. *CEICAM*, pp. 41-42, Pl X. 1.	The IM specimens bear an additional symbol, the so-called mint-mark ◎ on them. The Asiatic Society cabinet has two coins.
	Variety B	*CCIM*, p. 167, No. 5. *CCBM*, p. 160, Pl. XXII, 2.	Coin No. 6 of of *CCIM* has a symbol between the deer's legs which is difficult to recognise.
	Variety C	*CAI*, p. 72, Pl. 5, 2. *CCIM*, p. 167, Nos. 1-4. *CCBM*, p. 160f, Pl. XXII, 3-6, 8.	This variety consists of coins which bear the mint-mark generally at the hind-foot of the deer. Sometime this symbol appears either below the feet of the female (cf. *CCIM*, p. 167. 3) or between female and stag (cf. *CCIM*, p. 167, 4). The symbol is not present on some pieces of the British Museum (cf. *CCBM*, Pl. XXII, 3, 6, 8).

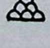
Tribes	Classes and Varieties	References	Remarks
	Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 161, Pl. XXIII, 6.	
	Variety E	*JNSI*, VIII, p. 36.	Information about coins of this variety has been obtained from S. C. Kaḷa. He has not, however, published any coin in the *JNSI* with his article.
	Variety F	*CAI*, p, 72, Pl. V, 3. *CCBM*, pp. 162-63, Pl. XXII, 14, 15, 16 ; XXIII, 1, 4 ; p. 288, Nos. 69a-b, Pl. XL, 14. *CCIM*, p. 168, No. 9. *CEICAM*, pp. 41, Pl. X, 2.	Some of the symbols are sometimes absent. Change in the position of the symbols also occurs. Smith remarks that coin no. 9 is 'a fine broad piece'. The Asiatic Society has two coins.
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*CCIM*, pp. 168-69, Nos. 11-19, 21, 22, 24-29, Pl. XX, 12. *SCCIM*, p. 41, Nos. 1-16. *CCBM*, p. 163f, Nos. 26-60, 62-69.	
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 166, No. 61.	
	Variety C	*CCIM*, p. 169, No. 20.	
	Variety D	*Ibid.*, No. 23.	
	Variety E	*Ibid.*, p. 168, No. 10.	This is made of brass.
	Variety F	*Ibid.*, p. 169, Nos. 30, 32-35.	
	Variety G	*Ibid.*, No. 31.	
	Class 3		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 72, Pl. V, 4, 5. *CCIM*, p. 170, Nos. 36,37. *CCBM*, p. 167, Pl. XXIII, 12-14.	Reverse of one of these coins was published by Prinsep, *PE*, Pl. XX, 48. 'Symbols perhaps differ' on coin No. 37 of *IM*.

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 168, Pl. XXIII, 11.	
	Variety C	*Ibid*., Pl. XLIII, 14.	
	Variety D	*Ibid*., p. 167, Pl. XLIII, 13.	
	Variety E	*Ibid*., p. 167, No. 71.	
	Variety F	*Ibid*., p.168, Pl. XLIII, 12.	
	Variety G	*Ibid*., No. 75.	
	Variety H	*Ibid*., Pl. XXIII, 15.	
Mãlava	*Class 1* *(Group A)*		
	Variety A	*CCIM*, p.170, No.1.	
	Variety B	*Ibid*., pp. 170-71, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7(?)	Smith reads *Mālivān*(*ām*) on No. 6. The *i*-sign is indistinct.
	Variety C	*Ibid*., No. 4.	
	Variety D	*Ibid*., p. 171, No.8.	
	Variety E	*ER*, p. 65, No. 1, Pl. XXVI, 1.	The Rairh specimen differs from the D variety in respect of the absence of *jaya* on the obverse of the coin of the latter variety. The symbols on the Rairh specimen are clear.
	Variety F	*CCIM*, p. 171, No. 10.	
	Variety G	*Ibid*., No. 9, Pl. XX, 14.	
	Variety H	*Ibid*., No. 11.	
	Variety I	*Ibid*., Nos. 12, 13.	
	Variety J	*Ibid*., p. 172, Nos. 23-25.	
	Variety K	*ER*, p. 65, No. 2, Pl. XXVI, 2.	

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety L	*Ibid.*, No. 3, Pl. XXVI, 3.	Most of the coins of this variety are corroded.
	Variety M	*Ibid.*, No, 5, Pl. XXVI, 4.	
	Variety N	*Ibid.*, No. 6.	
	Variety O	*CCIM*, p. 173, Nos. 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, Pl. XX, 17.	
	Variety P	*Ibid.*, No. 47, Pl. XX, 18,	The bull is recumbent and endowed with large horns.
	Variety Q	*Ibid.*, p. 173, Nos. 49-57, Pl. XX, 19, 20.	On 57 the legend is to be read from right to left.
	Variety	*Ibid.*, Nos. 44 and 49.	Bull's movement to right on 44 is doubtful. On 49 additional *ṇā jaya* is found.
	Variety S	*Ibid.*, No. 55, Pl. XX, 21	Douglas considers this coin to be a Nāga issue, *op. cit.*, p. 45. S. K. Chakrabortty supports him, *op.cit.*, p. 197. To us, it seems to be a Mālava issue.
	Variety T	*Ibid.*, Nos. 59, 60, 61(?)	Nos. 59 and 60 are also regarded by Douglas as Nāga issues, *loc. cit.* Chakrabortty supports him, *loc. cit.* We take them as Mālava coins. No. 61 is definitely a Mālava coin, but its reverse is obscure.
	Variety U	*Ibid.*, p. 174, No. 62, Pl. XX, 22.	
	Variety V	*Ibid.*, No. 63, Pl. XX, 23.	
	Variety W	*Ibid.*, No. 64.	
	Variety X	*Ibid.*, No. 65.	

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety Y	*Ibid.*, No. 66.	
	Variety Z	*Ibid.*, Nos. 67, 67a(?).	67a has *Mālava jaya.*
	Variety A-1	*Ibid.*, No. 67b.	
	(Group B)		
	Variety A	*Ibid.*, p. 171, Nos. 14-22, Pl. XX, 15.	
	Variety B	*Ibid.*, p. 172, No. 26.	
	Variety C	*Ibid.*, Nos. 27-31.	
	Variety D	*Ibid.*, Nos. 32-36, Pl. XX, 16.	
	Variety E	*Ibid.*, Nos. 37-40, Pl. XX, 17.	
	Variety F	*Ibid.*, No. 41.	The animal on the reverse may be a lion.
	Variety G	*NS*, XXXVII, p. 45.	The coin is square. *Mālava Sujaya*, according to Douglas, means 'the well-conquering Mālavas'.
	Variety H	*Ibid.*	This coin is cylindrical and hence interesting.
	Variety I	*ER*, p. 65, No. 4.	
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*CCIM*, p. 174, No. 68, Pl. XX, 24.	
	Variety B	*Ibid.*, No. 69, Pl. XX, 25.	Douglas's coin (*loc. cit*) has tree and the legend differently arranged.
	Variety C	*Ibid.*, p. 176, No. 92.	Smith calls him a later *Yama.*
	Variety D	*Ibid.*, p. 175, No.70.	
	Variety E	*Ibid.*, No. 71.	
	Variety F	*Ibid.*, No. 72.	
	Variety G	*Ibid.*, No. 72a.	Douglas takes it to be a Nāga coin, *loc. cit.*, and S. K. Chakrabortty supports Douglas, *loc. cit.*

Tribes	Classes and Varieties	References	Remarks
...	Variety H	*Ibid.*, Nos. 73-79, Pl. XXI, 1.	On 79 the animal is not humped.
	Variety I	*Ibid.*, Nos. 80, 81, Pl. XXI, 2.	
	Variety J	*Ibid.*, p. 176, Nos. 82-84.	For interpretations of *Magaja*, see pp. 121, 127. On 84 the identity of the animal is not certain.
	Variety K	*Ibid.*, Nos. 85-87, Pl. XXI, 3.	
	Variety L	*Ibid.*, No. 88.	
	Variety M	*Ibid.*, No. 89.	
	Variety N	*Ibid.*, Nos. 90, 91.	
	Variety O	*Ibid.*, No. 93.	
	Variety P	*Ibid.*, p. 177, No. 94.	The reading of the legend is not beyond doubt.
	Variety Q	*Ibid.*, Nos. 95-97, Pl. XXI, 4.	On 96 there is an animal (lion ?).
	Variety R	*Ibid.*, No. 98.	The British Museum posseses a coin of this variety *CCBM*, p. cv. Allan reads it as *Jamaku*.
	Variety S	*Ibid.*, No. 99.	
	Variety T	*Ibid.*, No. 100.	
	Variety U	*Ibid.*, No. 101, Pl. XXI, 5.	
	Variety V	*Ibid.*, Nos. 102, 103, Pl. XXI, 6.	On 103 there is an indistinct impression of an animal. The animal, however, seems to be a bull.
...	*Class 1*		
Rājanyas	Variety A	*CCIM*, p. 179, No. 1. *CCBM*, pp. 211-12, Nos. 12-16, Pl. XXIX, 13, 20, 21.	The IM specimen is of die-struck variety and is 'extremely rare'.

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety B	*PE*, Pl. XLIV, No. 19. *CAI*, p. 69, Pl. IV, 11.	Cunningham wrongly assigned coins of this variety to one *Maharaja janapada*.
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 89, Pl. VIII, 19. *CCIM*, pp. 179-80, 2-7, Pl. XXI, 15-19, 22, 23. *CCBM*, pp. 210-11, Pl. XXIX, 15-19, 22-23. *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 12-13, Pl. IV, 3.	Cunningham mistakenly called this *janapada* as *Raja janapada*. Among the six *IM* specimens two are of copper, rest of brass.
	Variety B	*JNSI*, XIX, pt. 1, pp. 12-13, coin No. 3.	Unique.
	Class 1		
Śibi	Variety A	*CCBM*, p. 213, Pl. XLIV, 6, 7.	Allan in one place (p. 213) wrongly attributes them to the Rājanyas but elsewhere (p. cxxiii) ascribes them to the Śibis.
	Variety B	*CCIM*, p. 180, Pl. XXI, 12.	Smith describes it as allied to the Rājanya coins, but it should be attributed to the Śibis.
	Variety C	*CCBM*, Pl. XIV, 12.	Allan in one place of his work (p. 121) wrongly attributes it to the Ārjunāyanas, but elsewhere (p. cxxiii) correctly describes it as a Śibi coin.
	Variety D	*JNSI*, IX, p. 83, Pl. 5, 6.	They are regarded as unique owing to the separation of the tree and  on two sides.

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
Trigarta		*CCBM*, p. 212, Pl. XXIX, 10.	This is a solitary coin of the tribe.
Uddehika	*Class 1*	*CCBM*, p. 240, Pl. XXXV, 16. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 98, Pl. no. 1.	
	Class 2	*JRAS*, 1900, p. 98, Pl, no. 2.	The counter-mark on the Rairh specimen is Ұ
		CCBM, p. 240, Pl. XXXV, 17. *ER*, p. 66, no. 19, Pl. XXVI, 9. *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IV, 1.	Again, the Rairh coin has three, instead of two, fishes in the tank.
	Class 3		
	Variety A	*ER*, pp. 66-67, Nos. 20-22, Pl. XXVI, 10.	No. 22 is corroded.
	Variety B	*Ibid.*, p. 67, No. 23.	Worn-out, but the last two symbols are clear.
	Variety C	*Ibid.*, p. 68, Nos. 27-32, Pl. XXVI, 13, 14.	On some specimens an additional *svastika* symbol is found, while on some other pieces the *svastika* replaces the usual Ujjain symbol.
Vemaka	*Class 1*	*CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV, 6. *CCPM*, p. 167, Pl. XVI, 137, *CCBM*, p. 125, Pl. XIV, 13.	
	Class 2	*CCBM*, p. 280, Pl. XLV, 14.	The coin is untraceable.
Vṛishṇi		*CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV, 15. *CCBM*, p. clv, 281, Pl. XVI, 5.	Like the Trigartas the Vṛishṇis are also represented by this solitary coin.

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
Yaudheya	*Class 1*		
	Variety A	*CCBM*, p. 265.	
	Variety B	*Ibid* , p. 265, Pl. XXXIX, 6.	
	Variety C	*Ibid.*, p. 266, Pl. XXXIX, 5, 7.	In one case the two symbols interchange their place, *CCBM*, p. 265, no. 7. This coin no. 7 is overstruck with .
	Variety D	*Ibid.*, p. 266, No. 10.	
	Variety E	*Ibid.*, p. 266, Pl. XXXIX, 10. *CAI*, p. 77, Pl. VI, 5.	
	Class 2		
	Variety A	*CCBM*, p. 267, Pl. XXXIX, 11, 12. *Ancient India*, 10-11, pp. 22, 101, 103, Pl. LIX, 14-16.	The Asiatic Society has a coin of this variety.
	Variety B	*Ibid.*, pp. 267-69, Pl. XXXIX, 6, 13-15, 17-19. *CAI*, p. 77, Pl. VI, 2-4. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 101-02, Pl. III, 41.	The coin published in the *JNSI*, XIII, has been found at Baghaula, Gurgaon district, Haryana. Its obverse side is almost in the mint-condition.
	Variety C	*CCIM*, p. 180, Pl. XXI, 13. *IC*, III, pp. 762-63.	The muzzle of the animal on the obverse is distinctly equinine and not bovine. So also the hoof. The tail is bushy and is exactly like that of a horse,

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Class 3		
	Variety A	*CCBM*, p. 270, Pl. XXXIX, 21. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 9.	Cunningham attributed other coins to the Yaudheyas on the basis of this silver coin.
	Variety B	*CCBM*, p. 271, Pl. XXXIX, 20, XL, 11. *CCIM*, p. 181, Pl. XXI, 15, 16.	The Asiatic Society possesses a coin of this variety.
	Variety C	*CCIM*, p. 182, Pl. XXI, 17. *JNSI*, II, p. 111, Pl. X, 16.	A coin of this variety has been found at Panjya, Dehra Dun, U.P.
	Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 272, Pl. XXXIX, 22.	On one specimen an additional ठ appears, *CCBM*, p. 272, no. 59.
	Variety E	*Ibid.*, p. 272, Pl. XL, 10. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 11.	Allan takes the reverse what is generally taken as obverse.
	Variety F	*JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, Pl. VI, 3.	
	Variety G	*Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 8.	
	Variety H	*Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 2.	Kala takes the obverse as reverse and *vice versa.*
	Variety I	*Ibid.*, p. 48, No. 6.	
	Variety J	*Ibid.*, II, p. 111, Pl. X, 12.	
	Class 4		
	Variety A	*CCBM*, p. 273, Nos. 63-67. *CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 13.	
	Variety B	*CCIM*, p. 182, No. 19. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 45f, Pl. III, 25.	The vase on the reverse is partially obliterated, but its main outline is clear.

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety C	*CCIM*, p. 182, No. 20. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 45f, Pl. III, 26.	'From a close examination of the original, it appears that the plant was a flower plant', *JNSI*, XIV, p. 45.
	Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 273, No. 68.	
	Variety E	*Ibid.*, p. 274. Nos. 69-72.	
	Variety F	*Ibid.*, Nos. 73-76.	
	Variety G	*Ibid.*, p. 275, Nos. 77, 78, Pl. XL, 12. *JNSI*, II, p. 112, Nos. 95-96.	*JNSI*, II, p. 112, No. 96 has 'a round base' of the building. The Asiatic Society has two coins of this variety.
	Variety H	*JNSI*, XVIII, p. 47.	
	Variety I	*Ibid.*, II, p. 112, Pl. X, 74.	Prayag Dayal who notices the coin is doubtful about the identification of the animal.
	Variety J	*Ibid.*, p. 111, Pl. X, 63.	
	Variety K	*Ibid.*, p. 112, Pl. X, 64.	
	Variety L	*Ibid.*, p. 112, No. 85.	
	Variety M	*CCBM*, p. 275, No. 79, Pl. XL, 13.	Allan gives a drawing of a six-arched symbol on the reverse, but actually the symbol is made of three arches. Coin No. 5 of *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 47 which is not reproduced by Kala seems to belong to this variety.
	Variety N	*JNSI*, II, p. 112, No. 104.	
	Class 5		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 78, Pl. VI, 14. *CCBM*, p. 275, Pl, XL, 15,	

Tribes	*Classes and Varieties*	*References*	*Remarks*
	Variety B	*JNSI*, XVIII, p. 47f.	Kala describes the three-arched symbol as *chaitya*.
	Variety C	*Ibid.*, No. 10.	The addition of *rājño* in the obverse legend is an important feature of the coinage noticed by Kala.
	Variety D	*Ibid.*, No. 11.	
	Class 6	*CCBM*, p. 275, Pl. XLIV, 27.	This is a unique coin.
	Class 7		
	Variety A	*CAI*, p. 77, Pl. VI, 6. *CCBM*, pp. 276-77. *CEICAM*, pp. 43-44, Pl. X, 6.	The Asiatic Society possesses two coins.
	Variety B	*CAI*, pp. 77-78, Pl. VI, 7. *CCBM*, pp. 277-78. Pl. XL, 3-6, *CCIM*, p. 183, Nos. 27-30, Pl. XX, 19. *JNSI*, XI, p. 52, Pl. 1, 7. *CEICAM*, p. 44, Pl. X, 7.	Allan reads *dva* in the text (p. 277) but corrects the reading as *dvi* in the *Introduction* (p. cli). In the illustration in the *CCIM* the word is *dvi* and not *tri*. Altekar suggests "that a wrong coin has been illustrated, very probably the obverse of a coin with the legend having the word *dvi* has been photographed along with the reverse of another which has the legend *tri*".
	Variety C	*CAI*, pp. 77-78, Pl. VI, 5. *CCIM*, p. 183, Nos. 31-35. Pl. XXI, 20. *CCBM*, p. 278, Pl. XL, 7, 8. *JNSI*, XI, p. 50f, Pl. 1, No. 5.	Legend in the reproduction of *CAI*, VI, 8, is blurred. Allan reproduces the reverse side only where *tri* does not occur. Coins with *dvi* have *kalasa* while those with *tri* have conch. They do

		not interchange their position except in the doubtful case of the *IMC*, Pl. XXI, 20. The *IMC* case may be explained by Altekar's suggestion. See above.
Variety D	*CCBM*, p. 278, Pl. XL, 9.	
Class 8		Coins of this class and varieties are new finds, disclosing the name of a hitherto unknown person called Rāvaṇa.
Variety A	*JNSI*, XVIII, p. 48, Pl. VI, 12.	
Variety B	*Ibid.*, 13.	
Variety C	*Ibid.*, 14.	
Variety D	*Ibid.*, 15.	

Supplementary Notes

Pp. 43-44, 70

MY THEORY seeking to establish a connection of the sage Viśvāmitra with the Audumbaras, propounded in 1961 (*supra*, p. 43, fn. 38), and my suggestion that the Audumbaras left their descendants in the Audumbara Brahmins of Gujarat, have recently received some interesting corroboration. Rameschandra Acharya, himself an Audumbara Brahmin, writes in his Gujarati monograph *Audumbara Parichaya* (edited by Nabinchandra Acharya, Bombay, 1970), p. 9, that these Brahmins belong to the *gotra* of Viśvāmitra, the sage with whom the connection of the Audumbaras of ancient Punjab is known from literary and numismatic sources. In other words, a section of the Audumbaras appears to have migrated to Gujarat, perhaps owing to some foreign aggressions. It may be noted in this connection that Pliny refers to an Audumbara (*Odombeores*) settlement on the mouth of the Indus, identified by Cunningham with Cutch. In course of time the Audumbaras of this region may have merged with the local population and gave rise to a community preserving the memory of the original association with Viśvāmitra of the Punjab region.

One of the 84 types of 'Gurjara Brahmins' (eighth in the list) of the 'Pañcha Draviḍa' group, the Audumbaras originally settled at Shamlaji and then shifted to the neighbouring city of Modasa. Most of them have now given up their priestly profession, joining salaried posts. For details, see the above-noted *Audumbara Parichaya.*

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Add after 'Variety B' in *N. B.* Section 'Further on this specimen the elephant is characterised by a rider'.

Pp. 56, 65-66

The discovery of the coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas in the mid-layer and those of Antialkidas and the rulers ~~of~~ Mathura along with a coin-mould of Apollodotus in the early layer of Period IV (c. 200 B. C.—A. D. 400) at Rupar on the Sutlej has a significant bearing on the history of the said tribes. Archaeologists are inclined to date the early layer to c. 200 B. C.—100 B. C. and the mid-layer to c. 100 B. C.—A. D. 100. The last layer (c. A. D. 100—A. D. 400) has yielded Kushāṇa coins. The stratigraphic evidence of these coins, particularly those of the Audumbaras and Kuṇindas, goes to support our conclusions: first, the Audumbaras had been initially under the Indo-Greeks and afterwards under the Kushāṇas; second, the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas succeeded in maintaining their independence probably till the end of the first century A. D.; and third, the Audumbaras at least for some time were neighbours of the Kuṇindas. Since no coin of either the Audumbaras or the Kuṇindas has been found at the last layer covering the Kushāṇa period, it may appear that they had lost their independence and their territories were annexed to the Kushāṇa dominions.

P. 142

It may be suggested that the name of the Rājanyas, whom we have located in the Beas-Sutlej doab, probably survives in the present-day Rāñjhā people who are chiefly found in the eastern uplands of Shahpur and Gujrat between the Jhelum and the Chenab, though they have in small numbers crossed both rivers into the Jhelum and Gujranwala district. See *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-west Frontier Province*, III, p. 323.

P. 189, l. 11

Add '(now in Haryana)' after 'Punjab'.

P. 228

In connection with the identification of the ancient Yaudheyas with modern Johiyas, first suggested by Cunningham, Sir Denzil Ibbetson writes that the Johiyas (*Joya* in his spelling), traditionally described as the 'lords of Jangaldes, a tract comprehending Haryana, Bhattiana, Bhatner and Nagor, were also in occupation of the banks of the Indus and Sutlej near their confluence.' The "Joyas", he reports, "still hold all the banks of the Satluj from the Wattu border nearly as far down as its confluence with the Indus.... They hold a tract in Bikaner on the bed of the old Ghaggar just below Bhatner, their ancient seat; and they are found in no inconsiderable numbers on the middle Satluj of Lahore and Firozpur and on the lower Indus of the Derajat and Muzaffargarh, about a third of their whole number being returned as Jats. The Multan-*bar* is known to this day as the Joya-*bar*. The Joya septs are very numerous, 46 being enumerated as principal septs alone." *Punjab Castes*, Lahore, 1916, p. 146.

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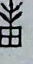
Description of Plates

Inability to reproduce a few untraceable coins (e.g. *CN 4,5*) is regretted.

PLATE I

CN 1	COPPER. Obverse: Tree in railing. Brāhmī legend *Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa.* Reverse: Bull standing to right; same legend (not illustrated). P. 5.
CN 2	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Brāhmī legend *Agāchamita*(-?). Reverse: Same. Such legend is less common. P. 5.
CN 3	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Brāhmī legend as in Variety A (*CN 1*). Reverse: Bull standing to right; rayed circle is absent (not illustrated). P. 5.
CN 4	COPPER. This coin is now untraceable.
CN 5	COPPER. This is also now untraceable.
CN 6	COPPER. Obverse: Tree in railing. Traces of legend—*Agāchamitapa-*. Reverse: Lion seated looking to right. P. 6. *'Legend same' in the description on the obverse should be modified by the addition of 'as in Variety B.'*
CN 7	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Legend as in Variety A. Reverse: Lion standing on a mountain. P. 6.
CN 8	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Legend as in Variety B, i.e. *Agāchamitapa-*. Reverse: Lion standing on mountain. No legend. P. 6.
CN 9	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Reverse: Lion standing on a mountain. No legend. P. 6.
CN 10	COPPER. The coin is not traceable.
CN 11	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Brāhmī legend *A (go) daka Agāchajanapada (sa).* Reverse: Composite animal with bull's body and owl's head with two large glaring eyes in a circle. P. 6.
CN 12	COPPER. This coin is also untraceable.
CN 13	COPPER. Obverse: Same. Brāhmī legend *Agodaka Agāchaja-*. Reverse: Lakshmī standing facing, holding stalk of lotus in left hand. P. 6.
CN 14	COPPER. Obverse: Standing figure, probably of a male between and . Brāhmī legend *Aj(u)nāyan-*. Reverse: Bull standing to left probably on hill. P. 20.

CN 15 COPPER. Obverse: Humped bull standing to right facing a sacrificial altar within railing. Brāhmī legend *Arjunayana jaya* (*ḥ*). Reverse: Tree within railing to the right, elephant facing front with head right and trunk upraised. P. 20.

CN 16 COPPER. Obverse: Humped bull standing to right facing a sacrificial altar. Brāhmī legend *Ajunāyan* (*ā*) *n* (*āṁ*) *jaya*. Reverse: Traces of the upraised trunk of an elephant. P. 21.

CN 17 COPPER: Pile of balls and above, a three-arched *chaitya* topped by a crescent, to right a robed human figure with an upraised arm in an attitude of worship with a taurine symbol below. To left legend in Brāhmī *Vaṭasvaka*. Single-die piece. P. 28.

CN 18 COPPER. Same as above. P. 28.

CN 19 COPPER. Obverse: Tree in an enclosure on left; forepart of an elephant to left on right. Wavy line below. Kharoshṭhī legend *Mahadevasa Raña Sivadasaśa*. Reverse. A storeyed temple, trident with axe on right. Brāhmī legend *Odubarisa Sivadasasa* (sometimes the word *Odubarisa* appears as *Odubarasa*). P. 45.

CN 20 COPPER. Obverse: Same (tree not seen). Kharoshṭhī legend *Mahadevasa Raña Rudradasasa*. Reverse: Same device. Brāhmī legend *Odubarisa*. P. 45.

CN 21 COPPER. Obverse: Same. Kharoshṭhī legend *Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghosha* (*sa*). Reverse: Same. Brāhmī legend (*O*) *dubar* (*i*) *sa*. P. 45.

CN 22 COPPER. Obverse. Same. Kharoshṭhī legend *Mahadevasa* (top) *Odubarisa* (right). Reverse: Same. Brāhmī legend *Maha* (*ā*) *devasa* (top), *Odubarisa* (left). P. 46.

CN 23 SILVER. Obverse: Humped bull standing to right; lotus flower (?) in front. Legend in Kharoshṭhī *Bhagavata mahadevasa* (around) *Rajarаña* (below). Reverse: Elephant to left; trident on left. Legend in Brāhmī *Bhagavatamaha*(*ā*) *devasa* (around) *Rajara*(*ā*)*ja* (below). P. 46.

CN 24 SILVER. Obverse: Humped bull to left; on left; above. Legend in Kharoshṭhī *Bhagavatamaha* (*devasa*) (around) *Rajarаña* (below). Reverse: Same as above. Traces of legend around. Below *Rājaraja*. P. 46.

CN 25 Silver. Obverse : Viśvāmitra, standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm. Legends in Kharoshṭhī : in front, *Viśpamitra* ; around, *Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghoshasa* ; below, *Odubarisa.* Reverse : Trident with axe on right ; tree in an enclosure on left. Legend in Brāhmī : around, *Mahādevasa Raña Dharaghoshasa* ; below, *Odubarisa.* P. 47.

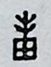
Plate II

CN 26 Copper. Obverse : Male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand ; wavy line on right not mentioned in the text. Kharoshṭhī legend *Raña Ajamitasa.* Reverse : Elephant to left, tree on left. Brāhmī legend *Ajamitasa.* P. 50.

CN 27 Copper. Obverse : Kharoshṭhī legend *Raña Ajamitra* (*sa*). Reverse : Elephant to left with rider. Brāhmī legend *Rājña Aja* (*mitra*). Obverse is not illustrated. P. 50.

CN 28 Copper. Obverse : Same. Kharoshṭhī legend *Mah* (*i*) *mitrasa.* Reverse : Elephant to left. Brāhmī legend *Maha* (*i*) *mita* (*sa*). P. 50.

CN 28a Copper. Obverse : Same. Kharoshṭhī legend—*ma* (*i*) *trasa.* Reverse : Same. Kharoshṭhī legend *Raña, Maha* (—). *The occurrence of the legend in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse as well is a noteworthy feature of this specimen*, which, however, has not been mentioned in the text. P. 50.

CN 29 Copper. Obverse : Elephant to left. Legend in Kharoshṭhī *Raña Bhānumitrasa.* Reverse : Wavy line and symbols  . Brāhmī legend (*Rajño Bha* (*ā*) *numita* (*sa*). P. 50.

CN 30 Copper. Obverse : Same. Legend same (not illustrated). Reverse : Same symbols, wavy line prominent, but tree is obliterated. Legend *Bhānu* (...). *This coin of the Indian Museum collection belongs to the Variety D on account of the presence of the wavy line (also seen on the specimen of Variety D), which on a better photograph supplied by the British Museum is clear. Hence no necessity of Variety E.* P. 51.

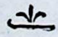
CN 31 Copper. Obverse : Male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand as in *CN 26* ; undulating line on right. Kharoshṭhī legend is illegible. Reverse : Elephant to left with rider as in *CN 27*. Brāhmī legend —*Bhānumitrasa*. P. 51.

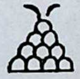
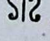
CN 32 Copper. Obverse : Elephant to left. Kharoshṭhī legend *Raña* (—) *numitrasa* (?). Reverse : Elephant to right before a tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī —*numitrasa*. P. 51.

CN 33 Copper. Obverse : Standing male figure. Legend in Kharoshṭhī *Mahābhūtimitrasa*. Reverse : Elephant to left with rider, traces of tree on left (not mentioned in the text). Brāhmī legend is illegible. *Of the British Museum collection, this coin is reproduced here for the first time.* P. 51.

CN 34 Copper : Elephant to right ; traces of legend. Reverse : Tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī *Asata...hakra* (?). P. 52.

CN 35 Copper. Obverse : Tree in railing. on right, an undulating line on left. Legend (Kharoshṭhī) is illegible. Reverse : Temple. Traces of Brāhmī legend. P. 52.

CN 36 Copper. Obverse : Symbol  . Reverse : Legend in Brāhmī *Bhagava* (*ta*) *Mahadevasa* ; sanding figure holding in right hand a trident and a battle-axe combined (not very clear). P. 52.

CN 37 Copper. Obverse : Wheel surrounded by a circle of dots. The triangle-headed symbol or *jayadhvaja* and the *nandipada*. Circular legend in Brāhmī *Vīrayaśasya rājñu Kulūtasya*. Reverse : A ten-arched *chaitya*  surmounted by an elaborate *nandipada* symbol. *Svastika* symbol to left and  to right. Traces of a legend in Kharoshṭhī *Raña*. Except *nandipada* other symbols have not been mentioned in the text. Pp. 77-78. This is a well-preserved coin. *This is not a silver coin as mentioned by some*, see p. 72, fn. 8.

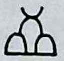
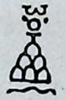
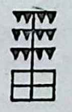
CN 38 Copper. Obverse : Types indistinct, but traces of *nandipadas* round a circle. Legend in Kharoshṭhī (*Ra*)*ña Kulutasa Viraya* (*śasa*). Reverse : Defaced (not illustrated). P. 78.

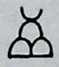
CN 39 Copper. Obverse : Six-arched mountain or *chaitya* surmounted by a standard, right *svastika* and *jayadhvaja*.

Brāhmī legend (*Rājña Kulū*) *tasya Vijayamitrasya*. Reverse : Shaft surmounted by *nandipada* in railing, circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas* as in *CN 38*, conventionalised lotus (as in *CN 37* ?) and symbol. Kharoshṭhī legend (*Ku*) *lutasa Vijayamitasa*. P. 78.

CN 40 COPPER. Obverse : Same as above. Brāhmī legend ...*ya* Reverse : Same as above, but the order of symbols is different. Kharoshṭhī legend : (*Sa*) *chamitasa* (?). P. 78.

CN 41 COPPER. Obverse : Same as above. Legend in Brāhmī ... *Āryasya*. Reverse : Same as above, but tree-in-railing in place of *nandipada*. Kharoshṭhī legend is effaced. P. 78.

CN 42 SILVER. Obverse : Deer to right ; female figure (Lakshmī) standing, sometimes on lotus, facing, holding flower in uplifted right hand, left hand hanging. Above back of deer ; above horn of deer ;  below deer. Legend in Brāhmī *Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasa* (i.e.—*sya*) *Amoghabhūtisa* (i.e.—*sya*) *Mahārājasa* (i.e.—*sya*). Reverse : A wavy line below the following symbols 卐   Legend in Kharoshṭhī : *Raña Kuṇidasa Amoghabhutisa* around. *Maharajasa* below. P. 91.

CN 43 SILVER. Obverse : Same as above, but Lakshmī with her left arm akimbo, and 卐 below deer and  between the deer and the figure for . Legend same. Reverse : Same. Legend same. P. 91.

CN 44 SILVER. Obverse : Same as above, but nothing below deer. Legend same. Reverse : Same. Legend same. P. 91.

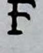
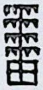
CN 45 SILVER. Obverse : Same, but  below deer (horse, according to Allan) ; traces of similar legends. Reverse : Same, traces of similar legends. P. 92.

PLATE III

CN 46 **COPPER.** Obverse : Same, as in Variety A, but absent. Same legend, mostly fragmentary. Reverse : Same as in *CN 42*, but sometimes the tree within railing appears with four instead of three branches  . Border of dots. No legend. A good specimen. P. 92.

CN 47 **COPPER.** Same as above, smaller than *CN 46*. P. 92.

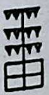
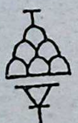
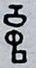
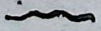
CN 48 **COPPER.** Obverse : Same as in *CN 46-47*, but the legend is usually very fragmentary. Reverse : Same as in *CN 46-47*, but border of dots not visible ; the tree is of three branches. Coarse fabric. No legend. P. 92.

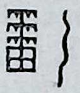
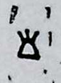
CN 48a **COPPER.** Same, but with a three-branched tree ; *F*-like symbol as in *CN 45*.

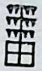
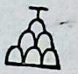
CN 49 **COPPER.** Obverse : Same, but with vase in front of the deer (not mentioned in the text). Reverse : Same as above. Coarse fabric. *Of the cabinet of the Indian Museum, this coin is reproduced here for the first time.* P. 92.

CN 50 **COPPER.** Obverse : Same as above. A cross in circle below the deer. Reverse : Same as above (not illustrated). *Of the Indian Museum collection, this is also reproduced here for the first time.* P. 92.

CN 51 **COPPER.** Obverse : Same as above, that is, with usual devices as in *CN 46-48*. Imperfect legend. Reverse : Same as above, traces of Kharoshṭhī legend apparently outside the dotted border. P. 93.

CN 52 **COPPER.** Obverse : Śiva (Chhatreśvara) standing facing, holding trident with axe on shaft in right hand, left hand in *kaṭihasta* (akimbo pose), leopard skin hanging from left arm ; flower or star behind, over his left shoulder. Brāhmī legend *Bhagavata Chatreśvara Mahātmana(ḥ).* Reverse : Deer left. above its horns  behind it  in front. □ below  above.  below. Border of dots. P. 93.

CN 53 COPPER. Obverse : Same as above, traces of inscription. Reverse : Deer left. Arched symbol surmounted by *nandipada* within a Railing.  above  below. P. 94.

CN 54 COPPER. Obverse : Same as above, traces of inscription. Reverse : Deer right.  on left,  on right. P. 94.

CN 55 COPPER. Obverse : Same as above. Similar legend (fragmentary). Reverse : Similar, but below deer. P. 94.

CN 56 COPPER. Obverse : Same as above ; similar fragmentary legend. Reverse : Similar, without P. 94.

CN 57 COPPER. Obverse : Same ; similar legend. Reverse : Similar. 88 and star above deer. P. 94.

CN 58 COPPER. Obverse : Tree in railing with *ja la* and *ya*, below *Mālavān (ā)ṁ*. Reverse : Three symbols—undulating line, *nandipada* and triangular standard (not clear). The piece is slightly pointed towards the top. P. 116.

CN 63 COPPER. Obverse : Two-line legend ; (*i*) *Jaya* to left and solar symbol to right. (*ii*) *Ma* (*ā*) *lava* (*ā*) (*nāṁ*), below undulating line. Reverse : Tree in railing and six-arched symbol. P. 117.

CN 68 COPPER. Obverse : Uncertain device in centre, roughly executed marginal legend *Mālava gaṇa*...(*gaṇasya jaya*). Reverse : King's head to right with curly hair. P. 118.

CN 69 COPPER. Obverse : Obscure central device ; marginal legend *Mālava* in large characters, reversed, read from right to left, followed apparently by *ga* (?). Reverse : Peacock facing with expanded tail covering whole surface. P. 118.

PLATE IV

CN 59 COPPER. Obverse : *Jaya* in bold characters on blank surface. Reverse : Corroded, probably had the legend *Mālavānāṁ* (not reproduced). P. 116.

CN 60	COPPER. Obverse : Three-arched symbol, above (*Ja*) *ya* in large old characters. Reverse : Radiate sun and second solar symbol as on Variety A of Class 1 ; legend below *Mālavaṇa. As thin as paper, this coin is included in Group A, but it should have come under Group B for its oblong shape.* P. 116.
CN 61	COPPER. Obverse : Legend in two lines (*i*) *Mālava* (*ii*) *jaya* in early script. Reverse : Vase in dotted border. P. 117.
CN 62a-c	COPPER. Obverse : In centre tree in railing, to right *Mālavā*, to left *ṇa jaya*. Reverse : Vase in dotted border. *CN 62b* : (obverse only) ; tree is absent in *62b*. P. 117.
CN 64	COPPER. Obverse : Above tree in railing and solar symbol, middle *Mālavānaṁ*, below undulating line. Reverse : *Jaya* (not reproduced). P. 117.
CN 65	COPPER. Obverse : Two solar symbols, one a radiate sun. Below *Mālavānaṁ*. Reverse : Traces of an undulating line (not reproduced). P. 117.
CN 66	COPPER. Obverse : Two-line legend : (*i*) *Malava* (*ii*) *hṇa jaya*. Reverse : Recumbent bull to left. P. 117.
CN 67a-c	COPPER. Obverse : Tree ; right *Mālava*, left *ṇa jaya*. Reverse : Bull moving to right. *Coin 'a'* (size ·3, wt. 7·7 grains) *is of the British Museum, reproduced here for the first time.* Coin *b* has *Malava* above, *ṇa jaya* below. Coin *c* (obverse only) bears the legend shown as reversed which is to be read from right to left. P. 117.
CN 70	COPPER. Obverse : Curious device, possibly intended for female figure ; legend reversed from right to left, (*Mā*) *lava ga* (? *gaṇasya jaya*). Reverse : Peacock (not shown). P. 118.
CN 71	COPPER. Obverse : Tree in railing ; left *Mala*. Reverse : *Nandipada* symbol occupying the whole surface. P. 119.
CN 72 a-d	COPPER. Obverse : In centre tree in railing ; to right *Malava*, to left *Jaya*. Reverse : Vase in dotted border. *CN 72b is of the British Museum collection, reproduced here for the first time.* The vase on *72c* is blurred. *CN 72c* is a sub-variety (not wholly rectangular), while *CN 72d* is its enlarged reproduction. *The coin marked as CN 72c may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world* (size ·2″, weight 1·7 grains). Its condition is good. P. 119.
CN 73	COPPER. Obverse : Tree or palm branch ; right *Mālava* (*ṇa*), left *Jaya*. Reverse : Lion standing to left, open mouthed, in dotted border. P. 119.

CN 74	Copper. Obverse : *Mālava* (*ṇa*) *jaya* and tree in railing. Reverse : Lion to right. P. 119.
CN 75a-b	Copper. Obverse : Two-line legend (*i*) *Ma* (*ā*) *lava* (*ii*) *hṇa jaya*. Reverse : Humped bull walking to left. The obverse of *75a* has not been shown ; the bull on its reverse is marked by a frontality. Hence this *piece seems to form a sub-variety not mentioned in the text*. P. 119.
CN 79	Copper. Obverse : Single-line legend *Mapojaya*, the *ya* turned endwise to save space. Reverse : Lion to right. P. 120.
CN 85	Copper. Obverse : Single-line legend across face of a coin, apparently *Magachha* (*Ma*) indistinct, but possibly another character precedes. Reverse : Bull to left. P. 122.

Plate V

CN 76	Copper. Obverse : Tree in railing ; marginal legend *Bhapaṁyana*. Reverse : Animal, probably a lion or a tiger, to left. P. 120.
CN 77	Copper. Obverse : Tree in railing ; to right *Yama* in early characters. Reverse : A form of the Ujjain symbol ; an undulating line, perhaps a snake. P. 120.
CN 78a-b	Copper. Obverse : Two-line legend (*i*) *Mālava* (*ii*) *Majupa*, both read from right to left. Reverse : Animal, not humped, to left. P. 120. *This piece is extremely important since it has enabled us to determine that the apparently curious legends on certain Mālava coins* (*Class 2*) *are not meaningless attempts to reproduce Mālavānāṁ jaya.* See p. 126f. *CN 78b* is almost same size.
CN 80	Copper. Obverse : Uncertain marks in centre ; marginal legend *Mapayasya jaya* ; (?) *gaṇa* between *Mapaya* and *sa*. Reverse : Humped bull to left. P. 121.
CN 81	Copper. Obverse : Single-line legend, *Mapaya*, the *ya* being turned endwise as in *CN 79*. Reverse : Humped bull to left. P. 121.
CN 82	Copper. Obverse : Single-line legend, *Magajaśa* in incuse. Reverse : Defaced (not shown). P. 121.
CN 83	Copper. Obverse : Single-line legend. *Magaja* in incuse. Reverse : Elephant to right (worn). P. 121.

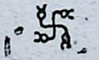
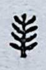
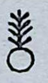
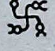
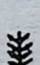
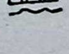
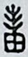
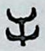
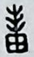
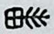
CN 84a-b	Copper. Obverse : Single-line legend, *Magcjava* in incuse. Reverse : Lion sitting to right. Reverse of *CN 84b* is better than *CN 84a*. P. 121.
CN 86	Copper. Obverse : *Gajava* across face of coin. Reverse : Defaced (not shown). P. 122.
CN 87	Copper. Obverse : *Jāmaka* across face of coin. Reverse : Defaced (not shown). P. 122. The legend occurs as such on the Indian Museum specimen. *It is Jāmaku on the British Museum piece* (size ·25) *which is reproduced here for the first time.*
CN 88	Copper. Obverse : *Paya* across face of a coin, the *ya* being late form. Reverse : Bull to left. P. 122.
CN 89	Copper. Obverse : Legend in two lines : (*i*) (*Ma*) *h* (*ā*) ; (*ii*) *rāya*. Reverse : Defaced (not shown). P. 122.
CN 90	Copper. Obverse : *Maraja* in incuse, complete. Reverse : Defaced (not shown). P. 122.
CN 91	Copper. Obverse : Female deity (Lakshmī ?) standing facing, holding an object perhaps a lotus in raised right hand. Kharoshṭhī legend *Rajañajanapadasa*. Reverse : Humped bull to left in a rayed circle. P. 143.
CN 92	Copper. Obverse : Same as in *CN 91*. Reverse : Same as in *CN 91*, but there is a crescent over the head and a symbol (*vajra* ?) over the back of the bull. P. 143.
CN 93a-b	Copper. Obverse : Same as in *CN 91*, but the legend is in Brāhmī ; *Ra* (*ā*) *jaña janapadasa*. Reverse : Same as in *CN 91*. *CN 93b is a piece of the collection of the American Numismatic Society* ; its preservation is better than *CN 93a*. P. 143.
CN 96	Copper. Obverse :   Reverse : Bull (?), *Śibi* Brāhmī legend *janapadasa*. P. 153.
CN 97	Copper. Obverse :  .Circular legend *Śibijanapadasa*. Reverse :  . P. 153.

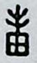
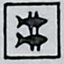
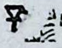
Plate VI

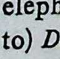
CN 94	Copper. Obverse : Symbols  Below Brāhmī legend *Śibijanapadasa*. Reverse :  . P. 152.

CN 95 — COPPER. Obverse :  and another indistinct symbol (another tree ?) Reverse : A hybrid animal (a griffin ?), facing a post (?), an indistinct object below the animal. Below *Rājño*. Pp. 152-53.

CN 98 — COPPER. Obverse : Four-tiered pavilion with a circular finial ; traces of Kharoshṭhī legend on right. Reverse : Legend in Brāhmī *Trakataja* above ;  in centre ; *napadasa* below. Pp. 169-70.

CN 99 — COPPER. Obverse :  . Legend in Brāhmī *Udehaki*. Reverse :  over bull right. Pp. 174-75.

CN 100 — COPPER. Obverse : Above, two-line Brāhmī legend : *Udehaki* and *Suyami* (*tasa*). Below   [- -] Reverse : Elephant to left, bull, countermarked (according to Allan, the countermark is). P. 175. A Rairh specimen bears the countermark of *jayadhvaja* symbol.

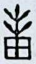
CN 101 — COPPER. Obverse : Three symbols ⌘ ; below, bull to left. Legend in Brāhmī *Sudavapa* (at right angles to) *Suyamitasa*. Reverse : A meandering river with three fishes ; above, sun or a star and a six arched hill  below, a trident or a three-forked *triśūla*-like symbol (or ?). P. 175.

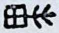
CN 102 . COPPER. Obverse 卐 ⌘ to top left ; below, elephant to right. Brāhmī legend *Sudavapa* (at right angles to) *Dhruvamitasa*. Reverse : Symbols indistinct (meandering river with fish and other symbols ?). P. 176.

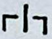
CN 103 — SILVER. Obverse : Bull right, lotus in front. Kharoshṭhī legend *Raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayata*. Reverse : Elephant right with upraised trunk, trident with battle-axe on left. Legend in Brāhmī *Rājño Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaka* (?). Pp. 183-84.

CN 104 Copper. Obverse: Elephant right, *nandipada* behind. Brāhmī legend *Vemakajanapadasa.* Reverse: Bull left, and *nandipada* and *svastika* above. P. 184.

CN 105 Silver. Obverse: with animal half-lion half-elephant in front. Legend in Brāhmī: *Vṛishṇ* (*i*)*r* (*ā*) *jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya.* Reverse: Elaborate *chakra.* Legend in Kharoshṭhī *Vṛishṇirajaṇṇa* (*ga*)—*tra* ... P. 189.

CN 106 Potin. Obverse:  . Reverse: Plain. P. 201.

CN 107a-b Copper. Obverse: . Reverse: Plain. P. 201.

CN 108 Copper. Obverse: . Brāhmī legend *Mahārājasa.* Reverse: . P. 201.

CN 109a-c Potin. Obverse: Bull standing right facing a railing with a curved object, probably a *yūpa.* Brāhmī legend: Above *Yaudheyānāṁ*, below *Bahudhañake.* Reverse: Elephant right, *nandipada* symbol above; uncertain pennon-like object behind. P. 202. *CN 109b (obverse only), found at Sambhar, now belongs to the collection of the Jaipur Museum.* The other two are of the British Museum cabinet.

CN 110 Potin. Obverse: Bull to left before a *yūpa* which is simply reversed. Same legend in Brāhmī. Reverse: Same as above. P. 202.

CN 111 Copper. Obverse: Horse standing right facing a *yūpa*, with head turned round touching back and manes flowing. Legend fragmentary. Reverse: Same. P. 202.

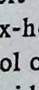
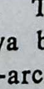
CN 112 Silver. Obverse: Kārttikeya, six-headed, standing facing, holding spear in right hand and resting left hand on hip. Legend in Brāhmī: *Bhagavatasv* (*ā*) *min* (*o*) *Brahmaṇya Y* (*au*) *dheya.* Reverse: Six-headed goddess (*five heads around the central head*), Devasenā, standing facing on lotus, with right hand raised and left hand on hip on left on right. Wavy line below. P. 203.

CN 113a Copper. Obverse: Same as in *CN 112*. Brāhmī legend *Bhagavatasv* (*ā*) (or *sa*) *mino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or *sa*) *Kumārasya* (or *sa*) around, Reverse: Devasenā (the heads are arranged in two rows) standing facing with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip.

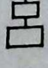
Plate VII

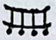
CN 113b-c Copper. Obverse: Same as in *113a*; *five heads of Kārttikeya are arranged around the main head.* Reverse: Same as in *113a* (not illustrated). P. 203. A few coins portraying the god in this manner are in the Jhajjar Museum, Rohtak.

CN 114 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya as before standing on lotus with a vase in field on right. Fragmentary legend in Brāhmī *Brahmaṇyadevasya.* Reverse: Devasenā standing on lotus, tree in railing, three-arched symbol on right (not reproduced). Findspot: Panjya, Dehra Dun. P. 203.

CN 115 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya as before. Traces of inscription. Reverse: Devasenā standing facing as before but  on left and  on right. No wavy line. Corroded. P. 204. As in *CN 113b-c*, here also *five heads of Kārttikeya are depicted around the main head.*

CN 116 Copper. Obverse: Devasenā standing facing, right hand raised and left resting on hip. Traces of inscription. Reverse: Six-headed Kārttikeya between (heads clear) the tree symbol on left and three-arched symbol on right. P. 204. The side with the legend bearing the effigy of Devasenā instead of her consort is taken as the obverse.

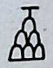
CN 117 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya as before (number of heads indistinct), vase (or stūpa ?)  on right. Legend blurred. Reverse: Six-headed deity (female ?). Tree on right. An indistinct symbot lo left. P. 204. Findspot Lansdowne, Garhwal District, U.P.

CN 118 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya as in *CN 117*, but holding a spear in right hand and left hand on hip, and peacock on right. Reverse: Multi-headed deity (female ?) tree-in-railing to right,  (river and/or ladder symbol ?) below. P. 204. Findspot as of *CN 117*.

CN 119 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya as in the previous coin. Reverse: Three-headed Śiva standing facing with right hand raised and left hand resting on hip. Tree in railing on right and arched symbol (?) on left. P. 205. The figure of Śiva is not very certain. *If it occurs in place of Devasenā, it is a new feature.* Found at Panjya, Dehra Dun.

CN 120 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya, probably single faced. Fragmentary Brāhmī legend *—ṇyadeva*. Reverse: Deer standing to right. Below water or river and its grassy bank. Above is a vase. To its left is an indistinct symbol, probably a tree. P. 205.

CN 121 Copper. Obverse: Kārttikeya with the usual six heads. Extant legend in Brāhmī *Brahmaṇya*. Reverse: Same as in the previous coin. The vase, more or less of crude shape, 'has a ring or handle at either side, and some decorative lines on its body and a plant is coming out of its mouth.' P. 206.

CN 122 Copper. Obverse: Same as above. Traces of inscription. Reverse: Deer to right before building (?).  on left and above. Brāhmī legend above deer. *Darma*. P. 207.

CN 123 Copper. Obverse: Traces of Kārttikeya standing, (not shown). Reverse: Bull standing to right. Tree on right. Arched symbol (?) on left. P. 207.

CN 124 Copper. Obverse: Traces of Kārttikeya standing (not illustrated). Reverse: Ass (mule ?) standing to right on some round object. Tree on right. Arched symbol (?) on left. P. 207, Findspot: Panjya, the Dehra Dun district, *CN 125* **Copper.** Obverse : Kārttikeya. Traces of inscription. Reverse : Deer to right before a three-arched symbol surmounted by a standard as is noted before. Rest illegible. P. 208.

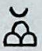
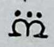
CN 126 **Copper.** Obverse :  Legend in Brāhmi *Bhānuva.* Wavy line below. Reverse : Standard and trident (not shown). P. 208.

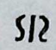
Plate VIII

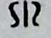
CN 109c Same as *109a-b* in Plate VI. British Museum specimen.

CN 127 **Copper.** Obverse : Bull to right ; fragmentary Brāhmī legend (*Yau*) *dh* (*e*) ***y*** (*ā*) *n* (*āṁ*) above. Reverse : Illegible (not shown). P. 209.

CN 128a-c **Copper.** Obverse : One-headed Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear in right hand, left hand on hip, peacock to left at left foot. Legend in Brāhmī *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya.* Reverse : Female deity walking to left with right hand raised and left hand on hip ; border of dots. Pp. 209-10.

CN 129 **Copper.** Obverse : Same as in the previous coin with addition of *dvi* at the end of the legend which is the same as above. Reverse : Same as above, with addition of a flower vase on left and inverted *nandipada*  on right. P. 210.

CN 130 **Copper.** Obverse : Same as above, but *tri* at the end of the legend. Reverse : Same as above, but shell instead of vase on left and the symbol  on right. P. 210.

CN 131 **Copper.** Obverse : Same as above, without *dvi* or *tri.* Reverse : Same as above with vase on left and the  on right. P. 210.

CN 132 **Copper.** Obverse : *Rāvaṇasya.* Crested goddess, not clear in the reproduction. Reverse : A standing male figure outside on arched gateway. P. 211. Findspot Lansdowne, Garhwal district, U.P.

CN 133 **Copper.** Obverse : *Rāvaṇasya.* Reverse : Blurred (not shown). P. 211. Findspot as of *CN 132.*

CN 134 **Copper.** Obverse : *—vaṇasya* ; below a single headed female deity. *Chaitya* on right. Reverse : Trident on right and another symbol on left. P. 211, *CN 135* Copper. Obverse: Above a symbol. Below *Rāvaṇa.* Reverse: A trident on right and trident combined with battle-axe on left inside a border. P. 211.

CN 139a-b Copper. Obverse: Brāhmī legend above *Kāḍasa.* Upturned taurine symbol. Undulating line below. Reverse: Rude figure on right holding staff in left hand. Uncertain object on left, probably 'kalasa with flowers'. P. 237. *'Sa' of 'Kāḍasa' has been put upside down on 'CN 139a', that on '139b' is not clear. CN 139b belongs to the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York.*

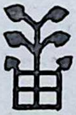
Plate IX

CN 136 Copper. Obverse: Undulating line. An upturned taurine symbol. Legend in Brāhmī *Kāḍasa.* Reverse: Elephant to left. P. 236.

CN 137 Copper. Obverse: Brāhmī legend only *Kāḍasa.* Reverse: An indistinct object, 'kalasa with flowers' (?). P. 236.

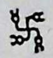
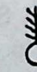
CN 138 Copper. Obverse: Undulating line. An upturned taurine symbol. Brāhmī legend *Kāḍasa.* Reverse: Large rayed circle, very probably sun (not shown). P. 237.

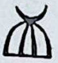
CN 140 Copper. Obverse: Large rayed circle. Reverse: Horse to right. P. 237.

CN 141 Copper. Obverse: Brāhmī legend *Madavi* (*ka*). Reverse: Hill surmounted by a tree symbol  . Solar symbol to right. P. 239. *This very rare coin belongs to the collection of the late Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta.*

CN 142 Copper. Obverse: A male bust to right. A Kharoshṭhī monogram and marginal Kharoshṭhī inscription: (*iv*) *Padada* (?) *ra* (?) *ta* (?) *sa* (?). Reverse: A man on a horse moving to right and being crowned by Nike flying behind. Traces of Greek inscription. TYRO (?) ... ... (VII) KOSS. P. 242.

CN 143 Copper. Obverse: A bearded bust to left within a border of dots, with hair hanging down to the shoulders. Reverse: *Svastika* in the centre. Marginal Kharoshṭhī legend: *Bagapharṇaputrasa Parataḥ* (or *da*) (*ra* *) *jasa Pudenasa* P. 242.

CN 144a-b	Copper. Obverse: A male bust to right within a border of dots. Reverse: *Svastika* as above. Marginal Brāhmī legend: *Yasamā* (or *-mi*) *raputrasa Pāratarāja Hīra* (or *va* or *ha*) *mirasa*. The Brāhmī legend on the reverse of *CN 144b* is (*puta*) *sa Paratarajasa Palasara* (*sa**). P. 242.
CN 145	Copper. Obverse: A circle with pellet in centre above, and a taurine symbol below the Brāhmī legend which is *Upagodasa*. Reverse: Blank. *It is a single-die piece.* P. 245.
CN 146	Copper. Obverse: *Svastika* symbol. Brāhmī legend *Upātikyā*. Reverse: Blank. *This is also a single-die coin.* P. 245.
CN 147a-b	Copper. Obverse: Cross-and-ball symbol and *chaitya*. Legend in Brāhmī *Vapu*. Reverse: Cross-and-ball and solar symbols (not shown). P. 245.
CN 44x	Silver. Kuṇinda coin. Same as *CN 44* (*supra*), but the preservation is better. It is an excellent piece of art. The utilization of space, anatomy of lettering and arrangement of symbols testify to the artist's perspicacity and a sense of balance and rhythm. P. 248. *Indian Museum specimen.*
CN 97x	Copper. Śibi coin. Same as *CN 97* (*supra*) with the following noteworthy differences: *the*  *symbol appears on the obverse instead of*  *reverse with the symbol and the reverse device consists of a six-arched hill (as in CN 94) surmounted by nandipada and an undulating line below the hill; an additional fillet-like wavy line is seen to the left at the top of the hill* which is not seen on any other piece. *This interesting coin belongs to the collection* of *J. Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands.*
SN 1	A lead seal with a perforated knob, cut or damaged at one side across the perforated part to the central hole. Two-line (*i*) (*Mā*) *lavaja* (*ii*) *napada* (*sa*). It was probably in the possession of an official seal-bearer of the Mālava principality. Probably used as a stamp of authority, this seal may be palaeographically dated to the second half of the second century B.C. or the first half of the first century B.C. (note the angular form of *pa*, *la* and *sa*). P. 111. *It is now in the collection of the Jaipur Museum.*

CN 100x	COPPER. Uddehika specie. Same as *CN 100, but the countermark*  *on the reverse is substituted by* (placed sidewise). *It is a Jaipur Museum example.*
CN 75z	COPPER. Mālava coin. Seems to be the same as *CN 75.* Obverse : *—lava—.* Reverse : Worn (not shown). Reference : *SCCIM,* p. 38, no. 22.
CN 94x	COPPER. Śibi issue. Same as *CN 94* ; trace of a symbol below the hill. Reverse only. *It belongs to the collection of the Jaipur Museum.*
CN 126x	COPPER. Yaudheya coin. Obverse only. Findspot Lansdowne, Garhwal District, U. P. The additional word *rājño* apparently suggests that Bhānuva or Bhānuvarmā was a king of the Yaudheyas, but the title appears to be more nominal than real. Pp. 208, 217.
CN 24x	SILVER. Audumbara specie. Same as *CN 24,* but has been substituted by 卐 on the obverse. The animals claim attention for their dynamic naturalism. *It belongs to the collection of J. Lingen.*
CN 24y	SILVER. Same as above, the noteworthy difference lying in the position of the bull on the obverse : *the animal stands to right instead of left.* On its obverse also 卐 appears above the bull. *This also comes from the Lingen collection* and like the previous one, is aesthetically impressive.

Both these pieces, CN 24x and CN 24y, strengthen my view that Mahādeva is not a title, but it stands for the name of the Audumbara leader.

PLATE X

Fig. (*bottom*) Reconstruction of a disc (mould of the obverse face). The fragments belong to different discs. On the right is seen a tenon, on the left mortise. The central aperture has been completed in pencil on the print.

Fig. (*top*)	Reconstruction of a disc (cast of the reverse face). The depressions on the mould were first filled with white powder and a plasticine cast was then taken. This reconstruction is based upon fragments belonging to several different discs, and considerable portions have been restored. The great variation in the elephant design deserves notice. Though the elephant faces right it has no fixed orientation with regard to the centre of the disc. The size of the coin also varies. The white mark on the bottom left was a pit (mortise) which in the cast appears as a peg (tenon). One or two such pits or pegs have been inadvertently omitted in this reconstructed disc.

PLATE XI

Fig. 1a.	A Yaudheya coin of Class 7, Variety D, of which the moulds are illustrated in figs. *1b-1g*. The moulds come from Sunet.
Figs. 1b-1c	*Of the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhawan* (Benares), these two pieces show grooves for the inflow of metal; in *1b* the groove is across the top left margin, while in *1c* it is across the bottom margin. Both are negatives of the obverse face.
Figs. 1d-1g	These moulds show grooves for the inflow of metal across the top margin (*1d*) or across the right margin (*1e* and *1g*); *1f* shows a marginal groove (key line) on the right. *1d* and *1e* are plain reverse impressions. *From the Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
Fig. 2a	A specimen of Class 2 coins of the Yaudheyas reproduced from Prinsep's *Essays, Pl. XIX, fig. 9.* The noteworthy feature of this piece is that its *legend is wholly* (i.e. both the words *Ya*(*u*)*dheyan* (*āṁ*) and *Bahudhañaka*) *reversed.*
Fig. 2b	Another example from Prinsep's *Essays, Pl. XIX, fig. 6* (obverse only). Here the first word is incomplete but the word is clearly reversed because it reads *Yau* coming at the right end instead of the left. The second word reads normally.
CN 102x	As in *CN 101* and *102*, the river indicated by fishes is interesting and arrangement of fishes is artistically made. P. 250.
CN 129x	The representation of Devasenā on this coin is artistically conceived and naturalistically rendered. P. 249.

CN 51x The large protuberance of flan of this coin shows that the Kuṇinda mint-master sometimes prepared his blanks by casting. P. 254.

PLATE XII

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the Rohtak coin-mould as done by Birbal Sahni. 'The mould was made up of a series of discs placed in a vertical column, like a pile of coins. The whole pile was plastered over with clay, only a funnel-like crater being left at the top for receiving the molten metal. The crater led vertically down into a central canal, like the shaft of a mine. From this canal, again as in a mine, horizontal channels led out at different levels, and these opened into the coin sockets. At each level eight such channels radiated from the central shaft, and opened into as many coin sockets arranged in a ring' (see *Pl. X, bottom and top figures*). P. 255.

Figs. 2-3 Conjectural reconstruction of the Sunet coin-moulds by Birbal Sahni. Approximately actual size. *Fig. 2* shows that the metal was poured into a single common channel communicating with all the sockets, the channel being an open trough cut into the side of the cylinder. In *fig. 3* this channel is a longitudinal one, connecting all the transverse channels, with possibly a funnel-like crater at one end ; the metal was poured in with the mould held in a vertical position. Pp. 256-57.

INDEXES

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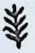
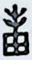
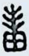
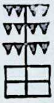
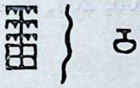
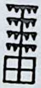
 152, 153, 160

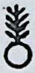
 20, 50, 51, 175, 179, 201

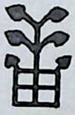
 152, 174, 175

 91, 93, 94, 152, 205, 206, 222

 94

 92, 203, 204, 222

 152, 153

 239, 241

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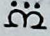 210, 223

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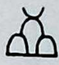
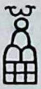
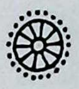
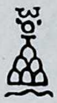
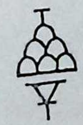
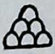
 91, 92, 208

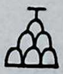
 94, 204, 222

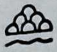
 85

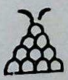
 91, 92, 203

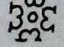
 93

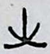
 152, 159, 175

 94, 205, 207

 152

 85

 81, 85

	179
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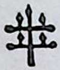	179
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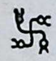
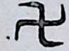
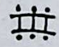
	152, 153, 155, 160
	91, 208
	204, 223
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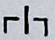
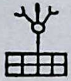
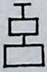
	201, 223
	189
	204
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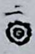
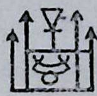
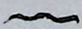
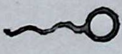
	46, 60, 63, 64, 103
	95
	205
	95
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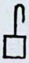	20
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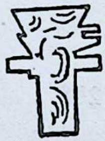	80
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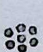
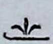
	92
	52, 53, 54, 55, 186
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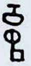 93

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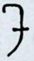
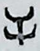
 170

 170

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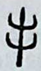 201, 223

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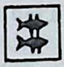 175

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General Index

Words like 'Mālava' and 'Yaudheya' are used both in singular and plural to convey their attributive (e.g. Mālava coinage, Mālava era) and ethnic (e.g. Yaudheya people or tribe) sense; similarly 'Indo-Greek' and kindred words. Names of modern states and their constituent divisions and districts with certain exceptions such as 'Mathurā' and 'Ujjayinī' are omitted. Words occurring in the 'Introduction', 'Appendices' (except no. IV) and 'Supplementary Notes' are included.

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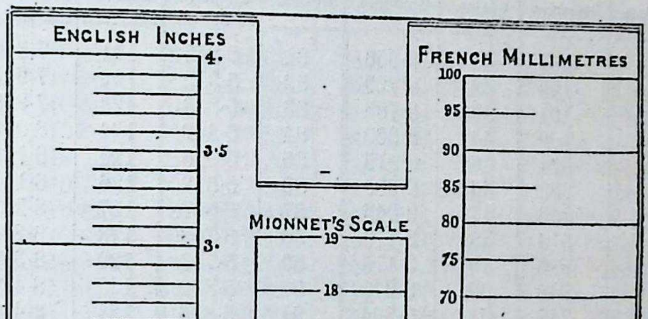
FOR
CONVERTING ENGLISH INCHES INTO MILLIMETRES
AND THE
MEASURES OF MIONNETS SCALE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MIONNET'S SCALE
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FRENCH MILLIMETRES
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TABLE

OF

THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND METRIC GRAMMES

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
1	·064	41	2·656	81	5·248	121	7·840
2	·129	42	2·720	82	5·312	122	7·905
3	·194	43	2·785	83	5·378	123	7 970
4	·259	44	2·850	84	5·442	124	8·035
5	·324	45	2·915	85	5·508	125	8·100
6	·388	46	2·980	86	5·572	126	8·164
7	·453	47	3·045	87	5·637	127	8·229
8	·518	48	3·110	88	5·702	128	8·294
9	·583	49	3·175	89	5·767	129	8·359
10	·648	50	3·240	90	5·832	130	8·424
11	·712	51	3·304	91	5·896	131	8·488
12	·777	52	3·368	92	5·961	132	8·553
13	·842	53	3·434	93	6·026	133	8·618
14	·907	54	3·498	94	6·091	134	8·682
15	·972	55	3·564	95	6·156	135	8·747
16	1·036	56	3·628	96	6·220	136	8·812
17	1·101	57	3·693	97	6·285	137	8·877
18	1·166	58	3·758	98	6·350	138	8·942
19	1·231	59	3·823	99	6·415	139	9·007
20	1·296	60	3·888	100	6·480	140	9·072
21	1·360	61	3·952	101	6·544	141	9·136
22	1·425	62	4·017	102	6·609	142	9·200
23	1·490	63	4·082	103	6·674	143	9·265
24	1·555	64	4·146	104	6·739	144	9·330
25	1·620	65	4·211	105	6·804	145	9·395
26	1·684	66	4·276	106	6·868	146	9·460
27	1·749	67	4·341	107	6·933	147	9·525
28	1·814	68	4·406	108	6·998	148	9·590
29	1·879	69	4·471	109	7·063	149	9·655
30	1·944	70	4·536	110	7·128	150	9·720
31	2·008	71	4·600	111	7·192	151	9·784
32	2·073	72	4·665	112	7·257	152	9·848
33	2·138	73	4·729	113	7·322	153	9·914
34	2·202	74	4·794	114	7·387	154	9·978
35	2·267	75	4·859	115	7·452	155	10·044
36	2·332	76	4·924	116	7·516	156	10·108
37	2·397	77	4·989	117	7·581	157	10·173
38	2·462	78	5·054	118	7·646	158	10·238
39	2·527	79	5·119	119	7·711	159	10·303
40	2·592	80	5·184	120	7·776	160	10·368

TABLE

OF

THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND METRIC GRAMMES

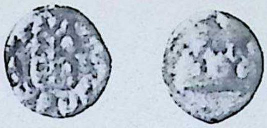
Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
161	10·432	201	13·024	241	15·616	290	18·79
162	10·497	202	13·089	242	15·680	300	19·44
163	10·562	203	13·154	243	15·745	310	20·08
164	10·626	204	13·219	244	15·810	320	20·73
165	10·691	205	13·284	245	15·875	330	21·38
166	10·756	206	13·348	246	15·940	340	22·02
167	10·821	207	13·413	247	16·005	350	22·67
168	10·886	208	13·478	248	16·070	360	23·32
169	10·951	209	13·543	249	16·135	370	23·97
170	11·016	210	13·608	250	16·200	380	24·62
171	11·080	211	13·672	251	16·264	390	25·27
172	11·145	212	13·737	252	16·328	400	25·92
173	11·209	213	13·802	253	16·394	410	26·56
174	11·274	214	13·867	254	16·458	420	27·20
175	11·339	215	13·932	255	16·524	430	27·85
176	11·404	216	13·996	256	16·588	440	28·50
177	11·469	217	14·061	257	16·653	450	29·15
178	11·534	218	14·126	258	16·718	460	29·80
179	11·599	219	14·191	259	16·783	470	30·45
180	11·664	220	14·256	260	16·848	480	31·10
181	11·728	221	14·320	261	16·912	490	31·75
182	11·792	222	14·385	262	16·977	500	32·40
183	11·858	223	14·450	263	17·042	510	33·04
184	11·922	224	14·515	264	17·106	520	33·68
185	11·988	225	14·580	265	17·171	530	34·34
186	12·052	226	14·644	266	17·236	540	34·98
187	12·117	227	14·709	267	17·301	550	35·64
188	12·182	228	14·774	268	17·366	560	36·28
189	12·247	229	14·839	269	17·431	570	36·93
190	12·312	230	14·904	270	17·496	580	37·58
191	12·376	231	14·968	271	17·560	590	38·23
192	12·441	232	15·033	272	17·625	600	38·88
193	12·506	233	15·098	273	17·689	700	45·36
194	12·571	234	15·162	274	17·754	800	51·84
195	12·636	235	15·227	275	17·819	900	58·32
196	12·700	236	15·292	276	17·884	1000	64·80
197	12·765	237	15·357	277	17·949	2000	129·60
198	12·830	238	15·422	278	18·014	3000	194·40
199	12·895	239	15·487	279	18·079	4000	259·20
200	12·960	240	15·552	280	18·144	5000	324·00

Corrigenda

P. xxviii, l. 10	For 'Viśvāmitra' read 'Dharaghosha'
P. 6, l. 27	For 'hand' read 'head'
P. 15, l. 1	Insert 'of the second variety' after 'type'
P. 26, l. 17	Insert 'and with lesser probability also by the' after 'Yaudheyas'
P. 26, l. 25	For 'Rajputana' read 'Rajasthan'.
P. 28, ll. 22-23	'the Aśvakas of the Vaṭa or fig-tree division'
P. 28, fn. 2	Read *Indian Studies*, III, (2nd edn), p. 48
P. 31, fn. 19	For '*MASI*, 40' read '*MASI*, 35'
P. 32, fn. 28	Insert 'to' after 'us'
P. 34, fn. 33	Read *Indische Alterthumskunde* (2nd edn), 1874, pp. 137-38
P. 38, l. 9	Insert 'Rupar and' after 'from'
P. 38, fn. 3	Insert 'For the Rupar find, see *Lalit Kalā*, 1955-56, nos. 1-2, p. 127' after 'p. 100'
P. 38, fn. 5(l. 3)	For 'Rajanyas' read 'Rājanyas'
P. 64, l. 16.	For 'Class 3' read 'Class 2'
P. 65, l. 35	For 'appellation' read 'appellations'
P. 66, l. 1	Insert 'exclusively' before 'to the first century B.C.'
P. 83, fn. 58	For '*Op. cit*' read '*CHI*, I'
P. 84, l. 18	For 'West Pakistan' read 'now Pakistan'
P. 87, l. 3	For 'Mongoloid peoples' read 'a Mongoloid people'
P. 91, l. 16	Substitute by
P. 122, l. 18	For 'regarding' read 'reading'
P. 122, ll. 25, 27	For 'observe' read 'obverse'
P. 159, l. 18	For 'third-second' read 'second-first'
P. 165, l. 5	For 'Śivikā' read 'Śivika'
P. 185, fn. 12	For '*JRAS*, 1900' read '*Op. cit*'
P. 189, l. 29	For 'dharmachakra' read 'chakra'
P. 190, l. 14	For 'forepart' read 'foreparts'
P. 198, l. 6	For 'North-Western' read 'Northern'
P. 206, l. 5	For 'river and' read 'river with'
P. 209, l. 33	For 'Six-headed' read 'One-headed'
P. 219, l. 28	For 'Variety A' read 'Variety D'
P. 230, fn. 1, l. 2	For 'six states' read 'four states'
P. 250, l. 16	For '*24a-b*' read '*24x-y*'
P. 251, l. 4	For 'its' read 'their'
P. 305, ll. 23-24	Insert the tree symbol (l. 23) before symbol (l. 24)

Read 'specie' for 'species' in pages 178, ll. 22, 35 ; 182, l. 3 ; 248, l. 40 etc.

PLATES



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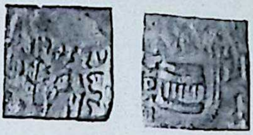

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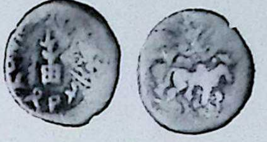

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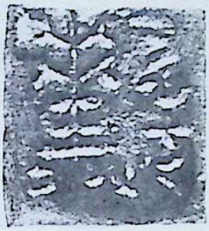

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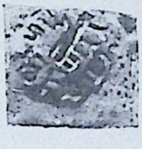

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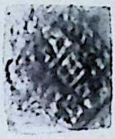

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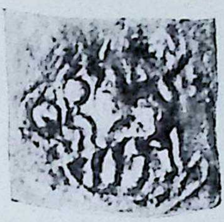

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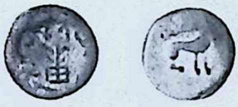

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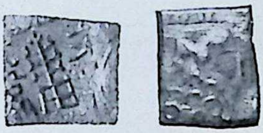

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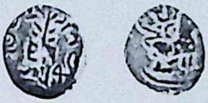

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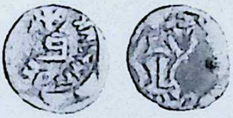

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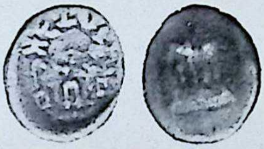

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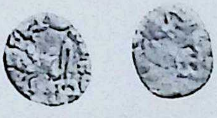

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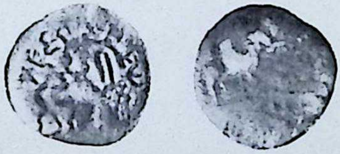

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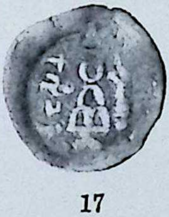

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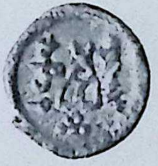

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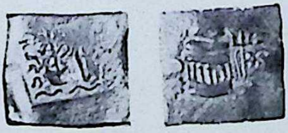

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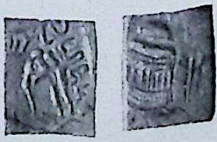

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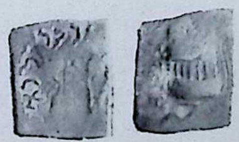

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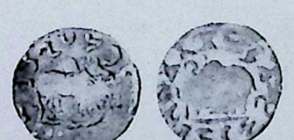

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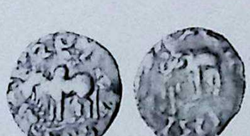

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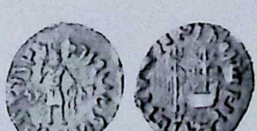

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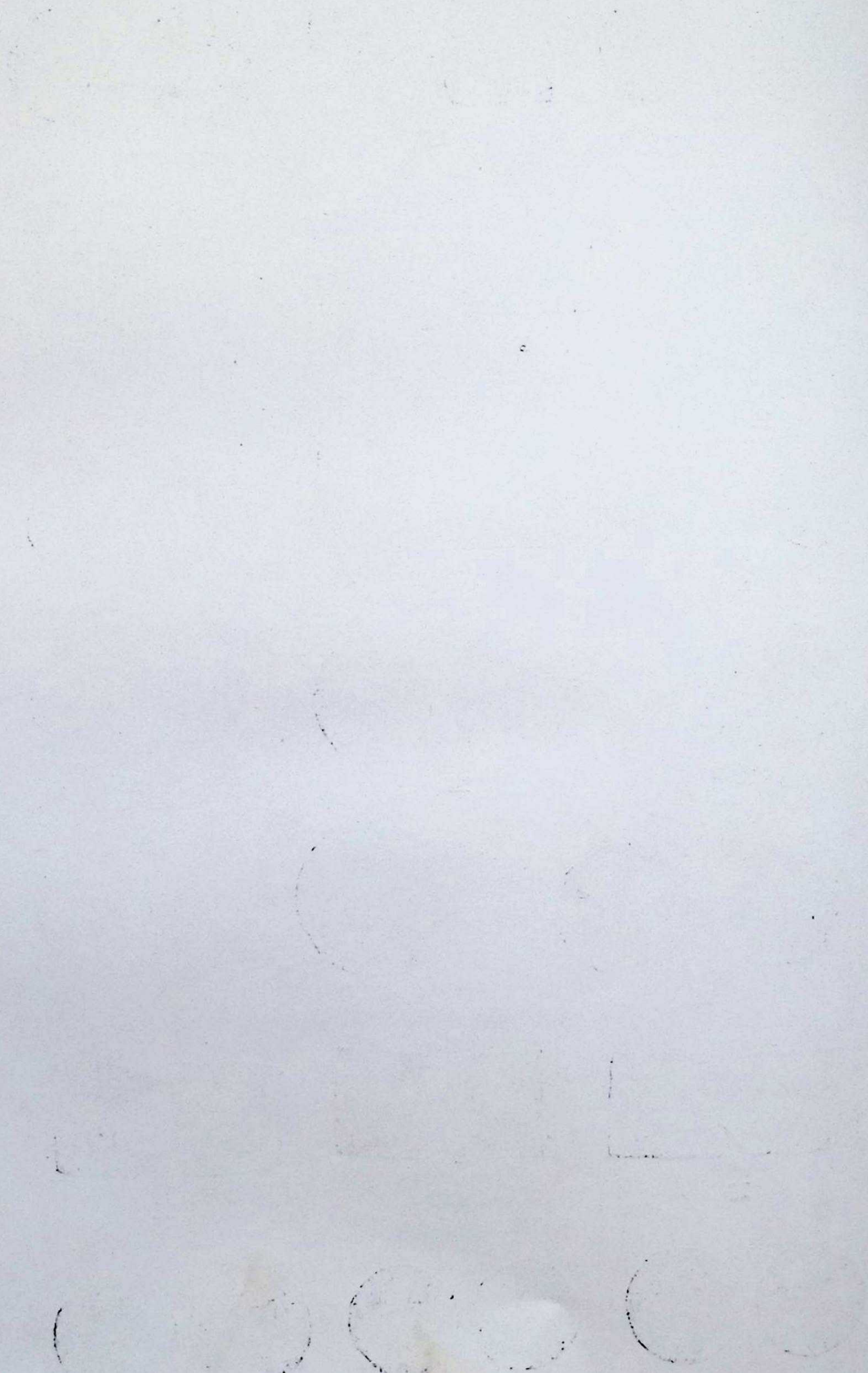
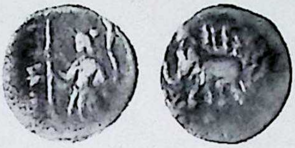


PLATE II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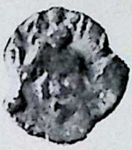
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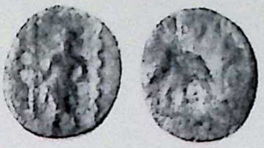
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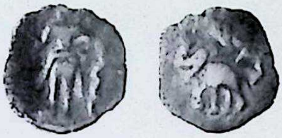
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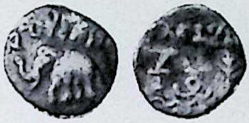
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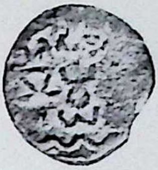
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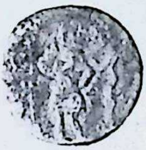
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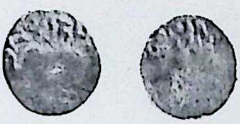
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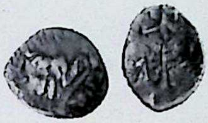
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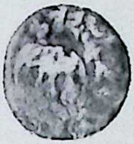
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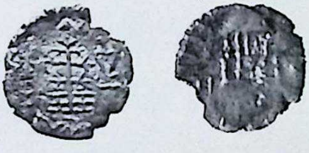
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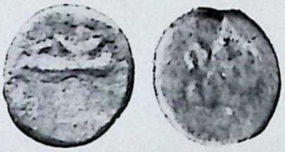
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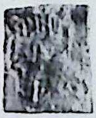
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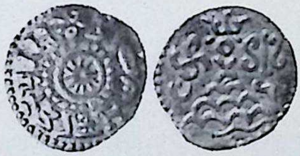
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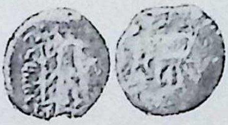
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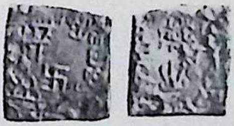
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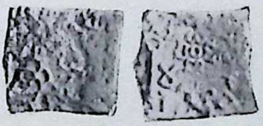
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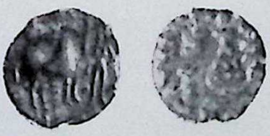
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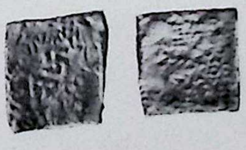
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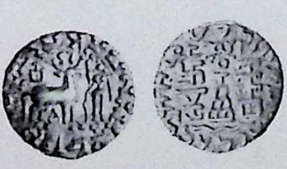
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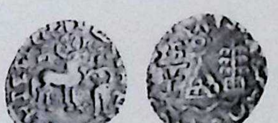
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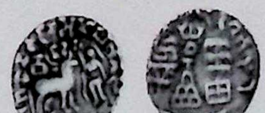
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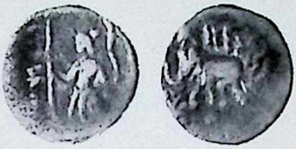
PLATE II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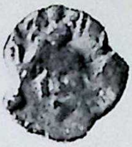
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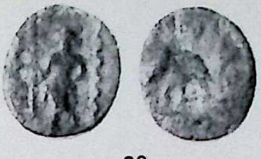
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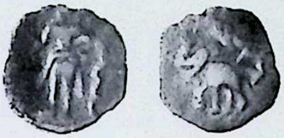
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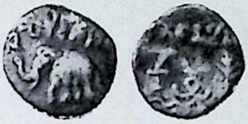
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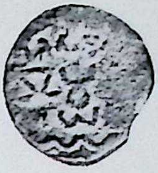
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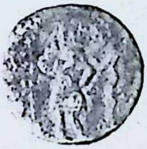
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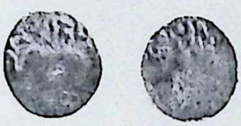
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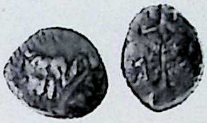
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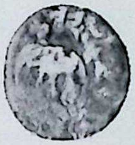
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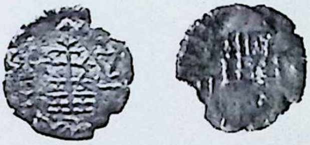
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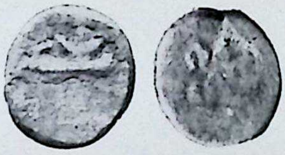
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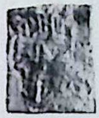
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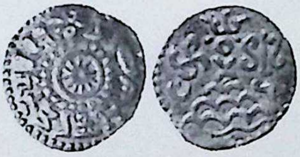
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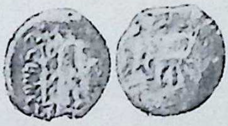
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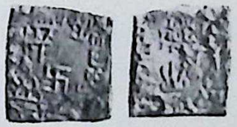
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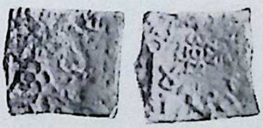
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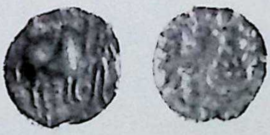
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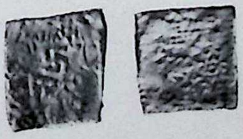
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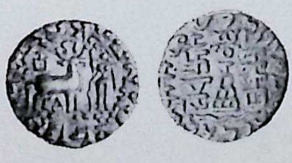
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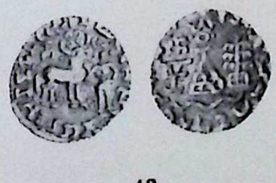
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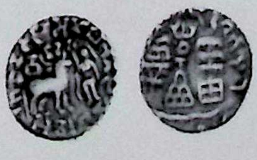
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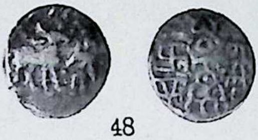
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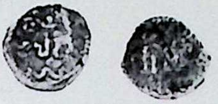
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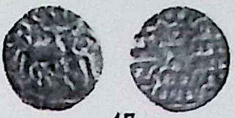
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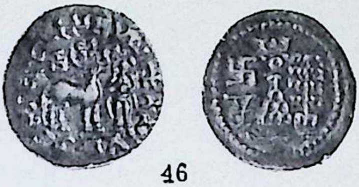
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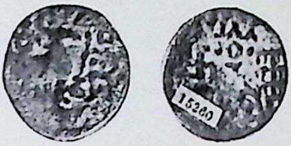

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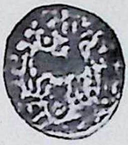
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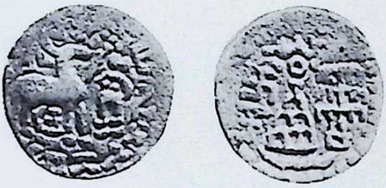
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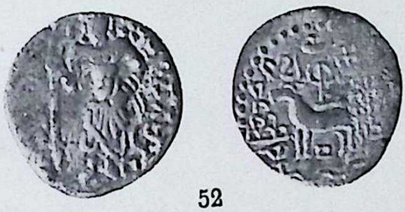
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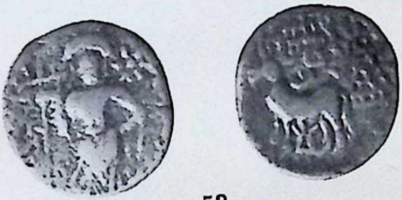
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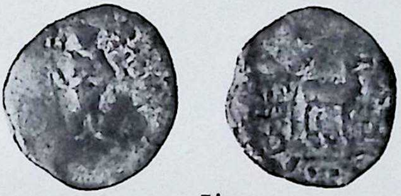
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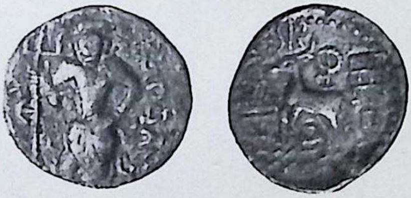
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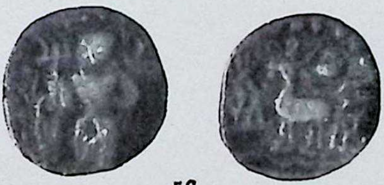
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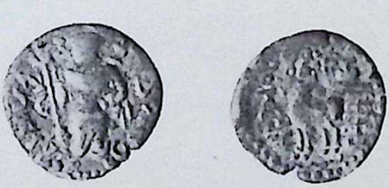
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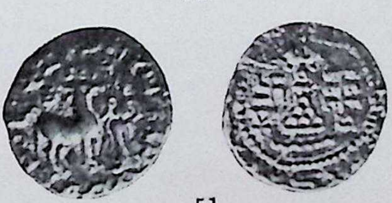
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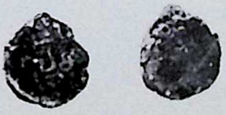
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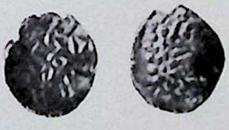
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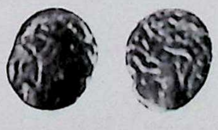
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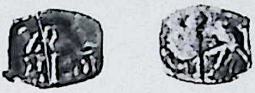
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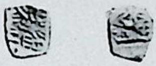
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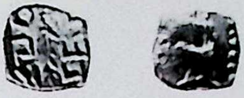
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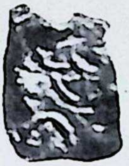
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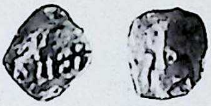
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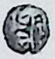
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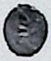
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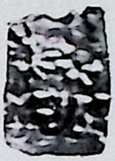
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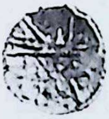
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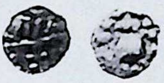
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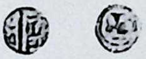
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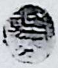
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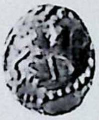
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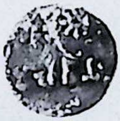
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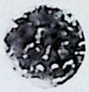
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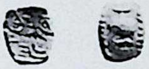
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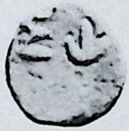
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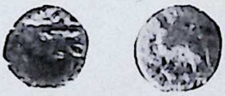
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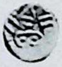
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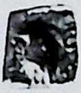
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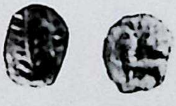
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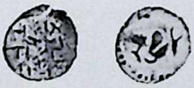
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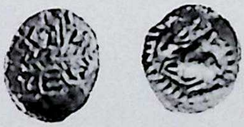
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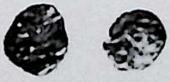
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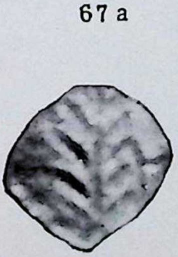
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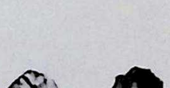
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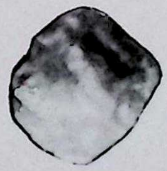
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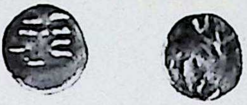
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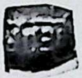
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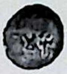
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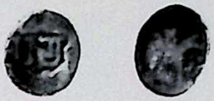
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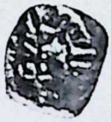
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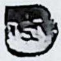
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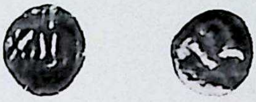
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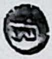
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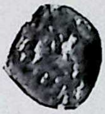
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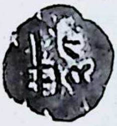
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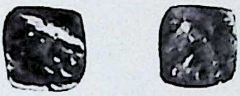
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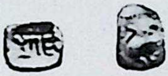
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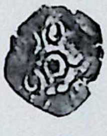
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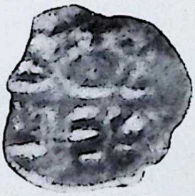
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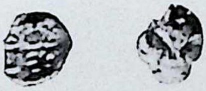
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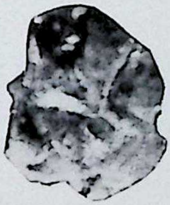
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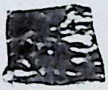
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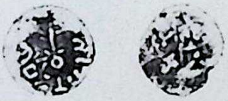
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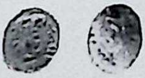
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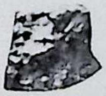
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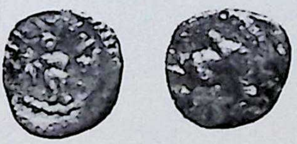
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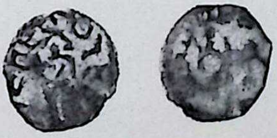
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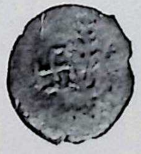
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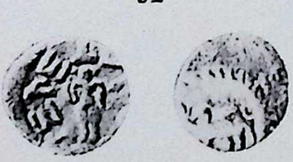
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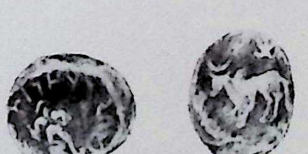
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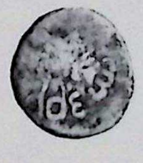
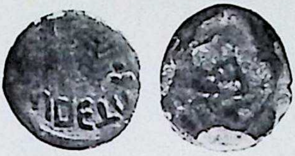


प्रेमी स्मारक पुस्तकालय ★ डाक्टर [illegible]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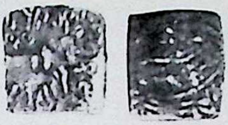
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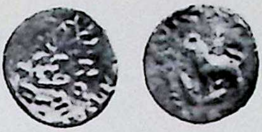
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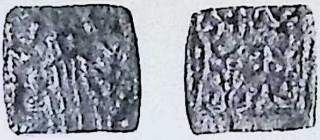
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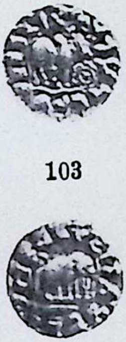
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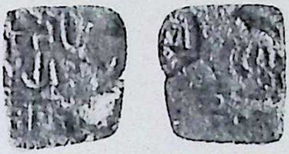
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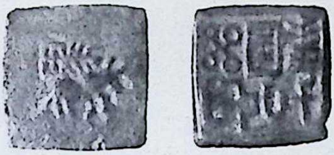
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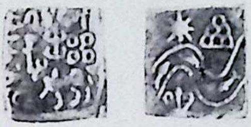
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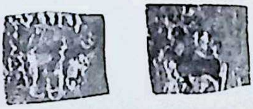
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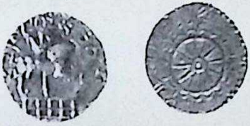
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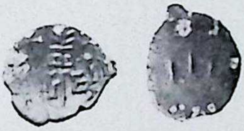
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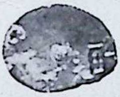
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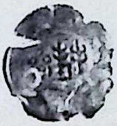
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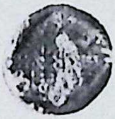
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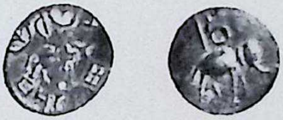
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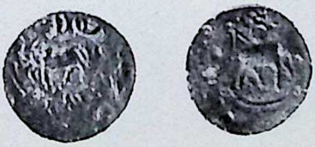
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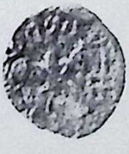
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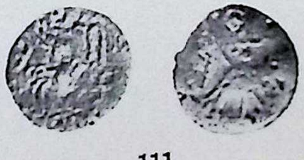
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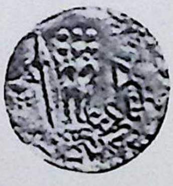
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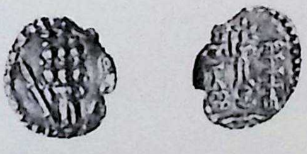
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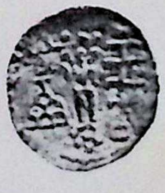
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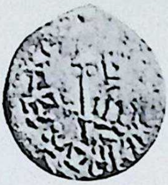
PLATE VII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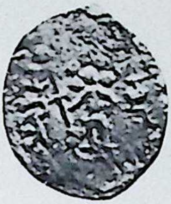
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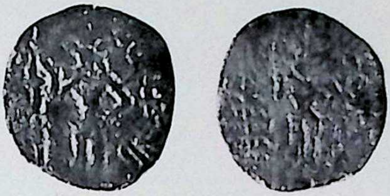
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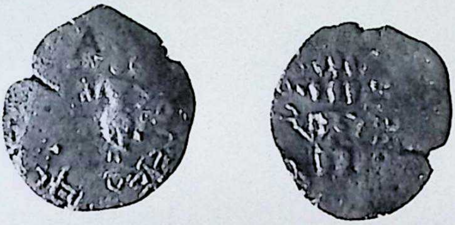
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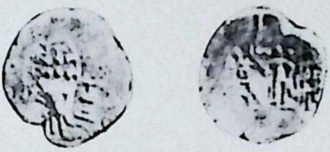
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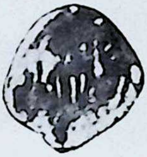
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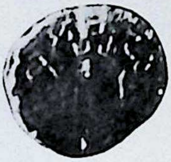
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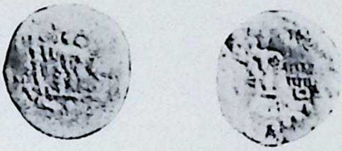
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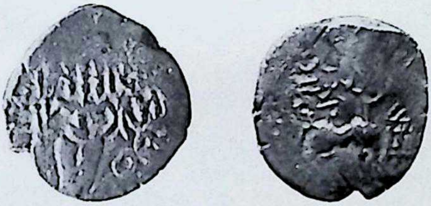
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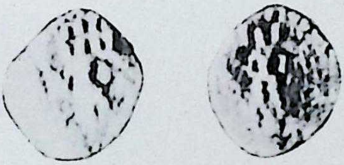
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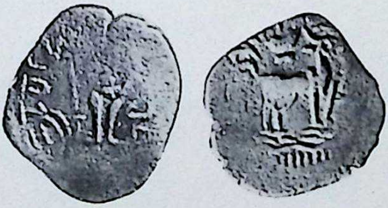
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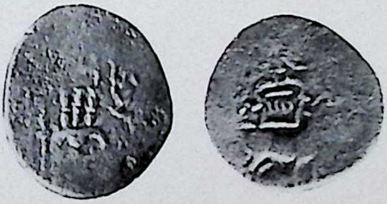
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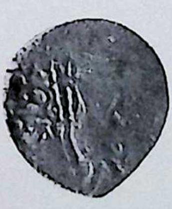
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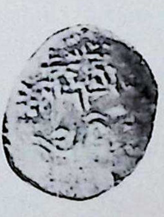
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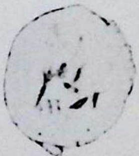
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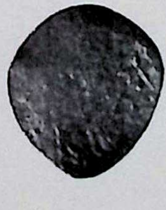
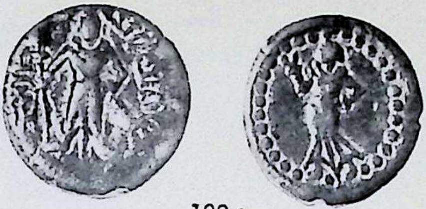

125

[illegible] रेग्मी, [illegible] रेग्मी [illegible]

PLATE VIII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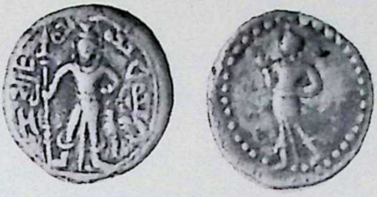
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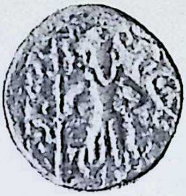
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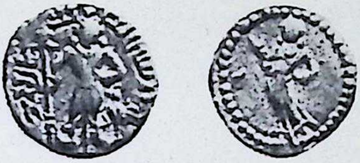
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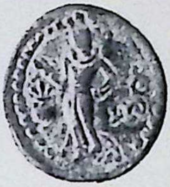
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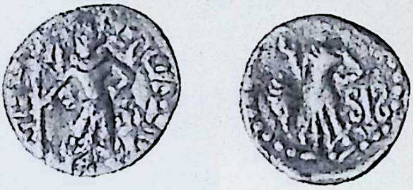
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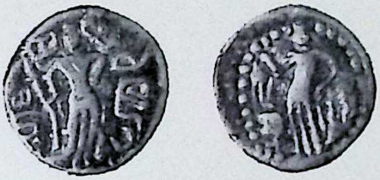
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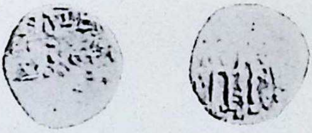
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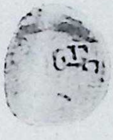
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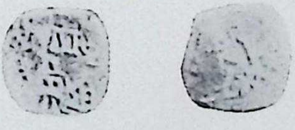
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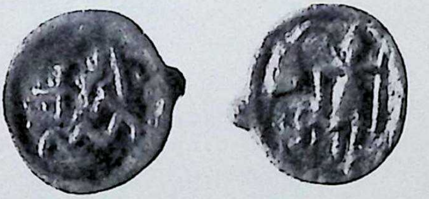
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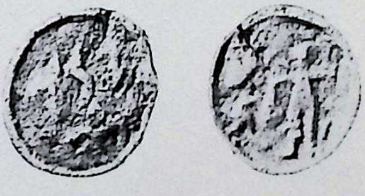
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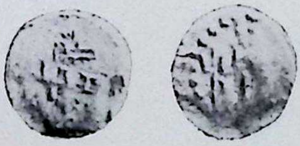
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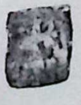
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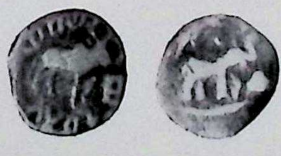
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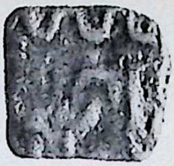
PLATE IX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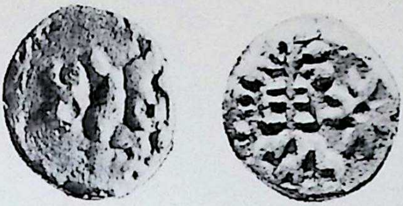
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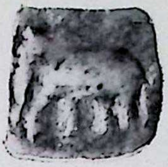
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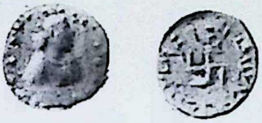
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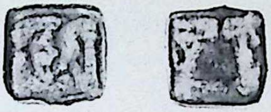
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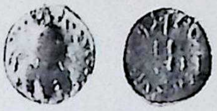
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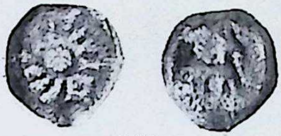
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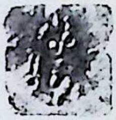
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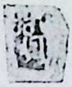
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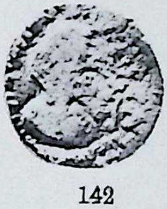
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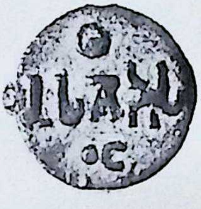
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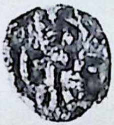
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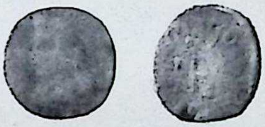
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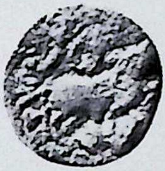

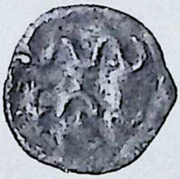
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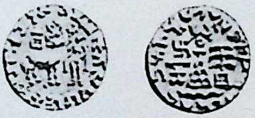
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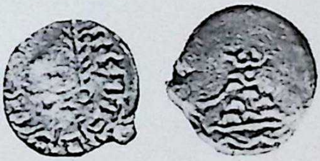
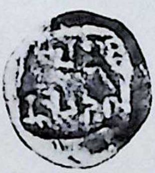

97 ×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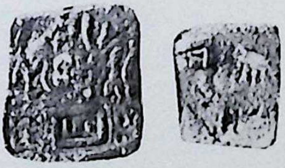
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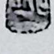
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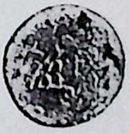
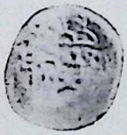
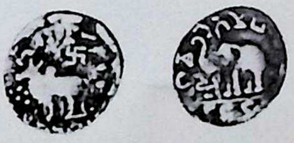

94 ×


126×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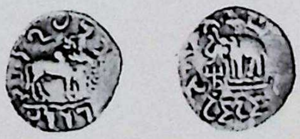
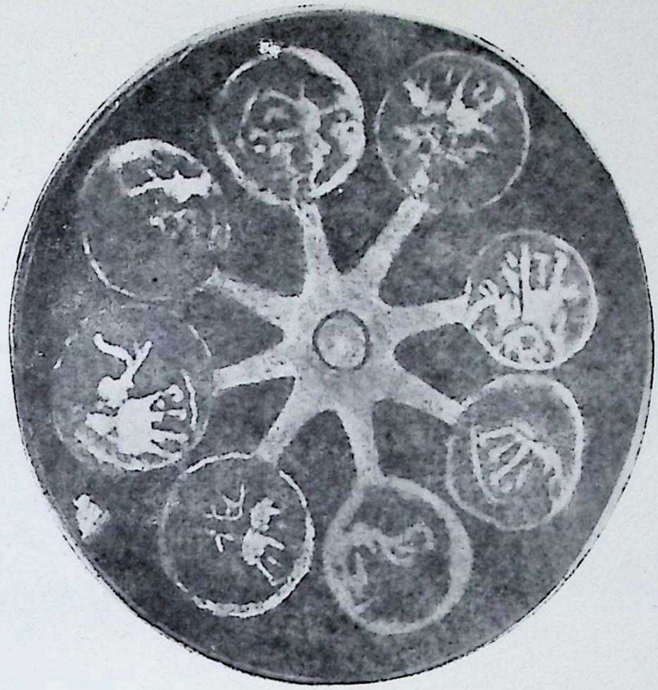
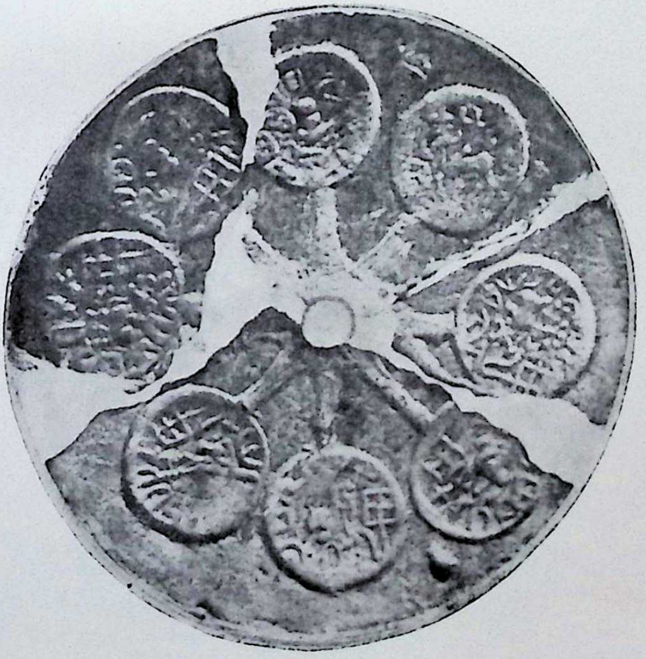

24 y

1562

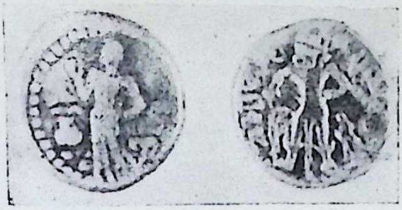
PLATE X





डाक्टर दिल्ली रमण रेग्मी, कमलपोखरी रेग्मी [illegible] पुस्तकालय

PLATE XI



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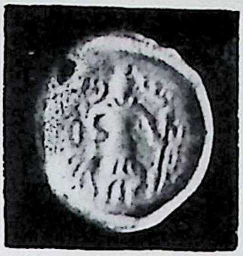
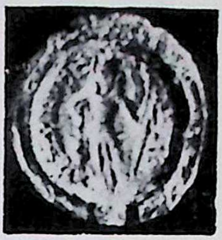
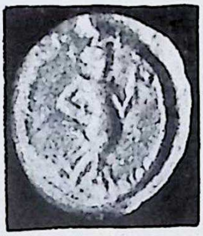


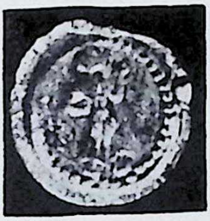
1b



1c



1d



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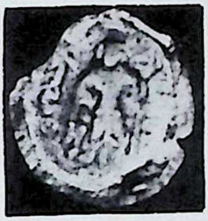

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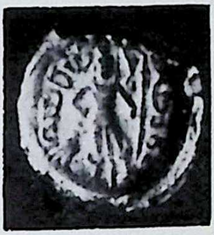
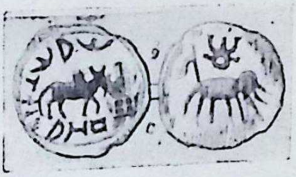


1g



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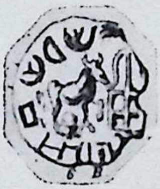
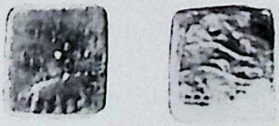


2b



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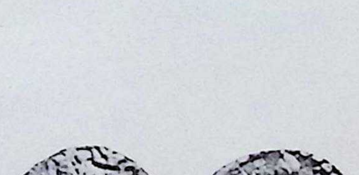
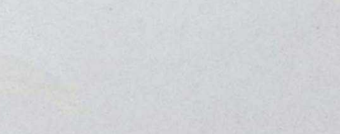


129x



51x

1562

[illegible] कैसर सार्वजनिक पुस्तकालय [illegible]

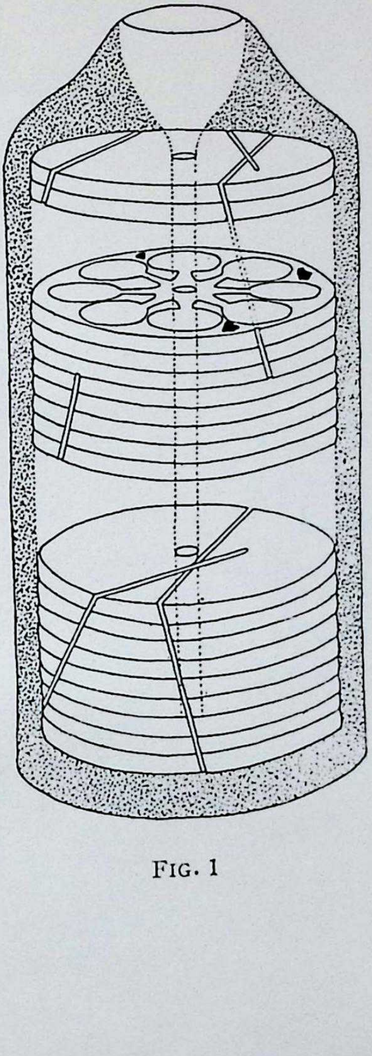


FIG. 1

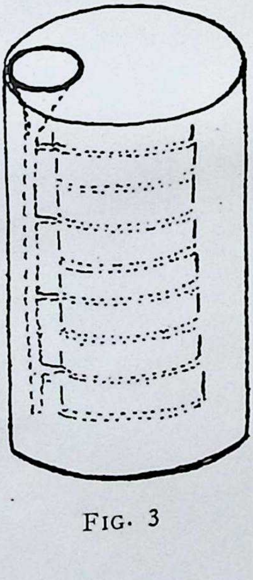


FIG. 3

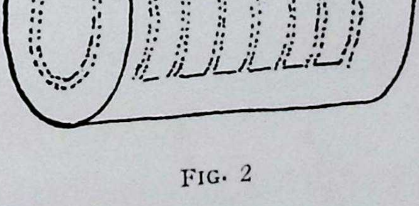
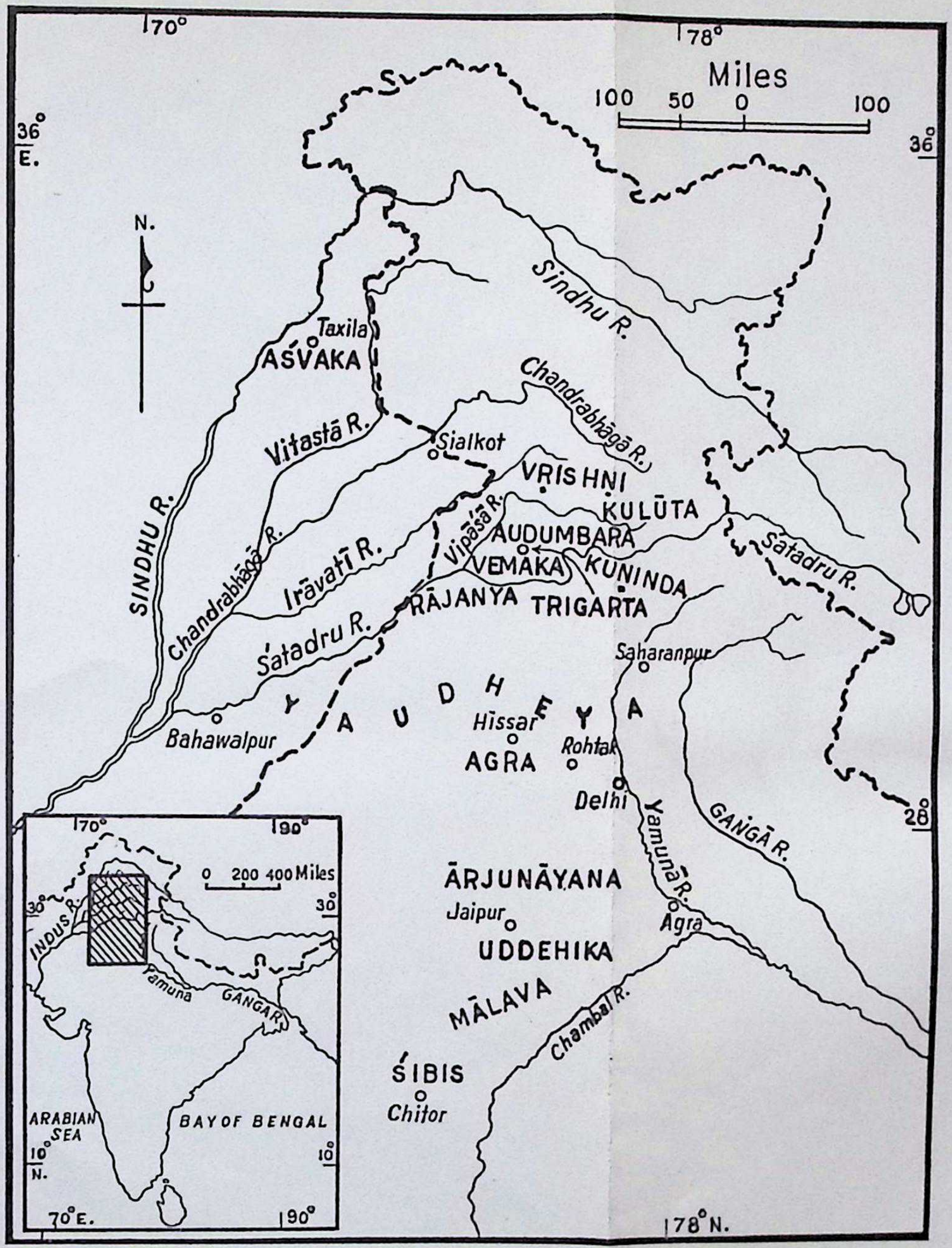


FIG. 2


70°
78°
Miles
100 50 0 100
36° E.
36°
N.
Taxila
AŚVAKA
Sindhu R.
Vitastā R.
Sialkot
Chandrabhāgā R.
VṚISHNI
KULŪTA
SINDHU R.
Chandrabhāgā R.
Irāvatī R.
Vipāśā R.
AUDUMBARA
VEMAKA
KUNINDA
Śatadru R.
RĀJANYA
TRIGARTA
Śatadru R.
Saharanpur
Y A U D H E Y A
Bahawalpur
Hissar
Rohtak
AGRA
Delhi
Yamunā R.
GANGĀ R.
28°
ĀRJUNĀYANA
Jaipur
Agra
UDDEHIKA
MĀLAVA
Chambal R.
ŚIBIS
Chitor
78° N.
70°
90°
0 200 400 Miles
30°
30°
INDUS R.
Yamuna
GANGA R.
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
10° N.
10°
70° E.
90°

Map illustrating the areas occupied by the tribes of the coins

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA obtained a First Class M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture from the University of Calcutta and did his Doctorate in 1965. He worked for a few years in the department of Ancient Indian and World History, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He joined the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta in June, 1963. He is a Reader in this department.

Besides a number of research papers, Dr. Dasgupta's works include two monographs *The Audumbaras* (1965) and *The Malavas* (1966). He has contributed chapters and articles to *Comprehensive History of India* (Vols. III and IV), *History of the Kushanas*, *Bharatakosh* (a Bengali encyclopaedia), *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, *History in Modern Indian Literature* and *Dictionary of National Biography*. Dr. Dasgupta has recently edited J. F. Fleet's *Topographical List of the Brihatsamhita* and is currently engaged in editing *Hayasirsha Pancharatra* in collaboration with Professor K. K. Datta of Sanskrit College.

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